

JOURNAL OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

SUMMER 1995 VOLUME XXI, NUMBER I



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OF EARLY SOUTHERN
DECORATIVE ARTS



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The *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* is published twice a year by the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA). It presents research on decorative arts made in the South prior to 1820, with an emphasis on object studies in a material culture context.

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Contents

Charleston's Drawing Master Bernard Albrecht Moll and the South Carolina Expedition of Emperor Joseph II of Austria	
HELENE M. KASTINGER RILEY	5

Research Notes

New Discoveries in a Piedmont North Carolina Chest-on-Frame Group	
BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG	89

Book Reviews

James Horn, <i>Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake</i>	
BARBARA CARSON	95
Stanley South, <i>Pioneers in Historical Archaeology: Breaking New Ground.</i>	
J. NED WOODALL	98

The ART of DRAWING.
Bernard Moll (lately from Vienna)
REQUESTS leave to inform the Ladies and Gentle-
men of this City; that he has undertaken to teach
that necessary accomplishment,

The Art of Drawing,

In all its branches.

841

He flatters himself (from the attention which he shall observe) to those whom he has the honour of instructing, that with application they will in a short time become proficient. — Profiles done in the most exact manner, of all sizes, No. 31, Broad street.

1. Bernard Moll's first Charleston advertisement offering his services as drawing master and profile cutter. South Carolina State Gazette and General Advertiser, November 23, 1784, 1-3.

Charleston's Drawing Master
Bernhard Albrecht Moll and the
South Carolina Expedition of
Emperor Joseph II of Austria

HELENE M. KASTINGER RILEY

ON NOVEMBER 12, 1788, *The City Gazette or The Daily Advertiser* of Charleston, South Carolina, carried a notice that the remaining effects of the late Mr. Bernard Moll were to be sold at public auction, including “a tame milch cow used to the town,” a number of pictures, “a variety of water colours, and sundry instruments proper for a drawing master.”¹ The inventory of Moll’s possessions made some months later by Serjeant & Cambridge shows the deceased to be a man of culture and some modest means to indulge his favorite pastimes: he played chess, loved and collected books, smoked a pipe, enjoyed an occasional bottle of wine, and perhaps went hunting to put meat on his table.² He had carpenter’s tools and the frames, pencils, paints, and brushes used in his trade. Beyond this, little is known about this man who had a most interesting and adventurous life before becoming “Drawing Master” in Charleston.³

The only tangible evidence of his art in Charleston is an album of exquisitely cut profiles that has its own remarkable history. Eight

days after Moll arrived in Philadelphia as the artist of an Austrian scientific expedition he wrote a letter to his friend, Count Ignaz von Born in Vienna, describing his transatlantic voyage. After discussing a number of illustrations he had made of marine fauna in his official capacity, Moll mentions that he “could also make a good bit of money with silhouettes” and that he already had “a collection of civilized American faces.”⁴ This letter, dated September 17, 1783, and discussed in greater detail below, contains the first reference to the more than two dozen Philadelphia profiles in the album and serves to confirm Moll’s authorship. His use of the word “silhouette”—a term not commonly applied in English prior to 1796—and his comment that “there are few artists here and none in my field” are interesting in light of the popularity of the medium.⁵ If his assessment is correct—and MESDA research files show no other Charleston artist *cutting* profiles before 1804—it may explain his popularity and immediate acceptance as an artist, both in the Northeast and later in Charleston.

The more than seventy silhouettes of Charleston personalities reproduced here for the first time are clearly the most important in the album. They were cut after Moll moved to Charleston in December 1783, and portray members of the city’s most eminent families. This confirms Moll’s claim in his advertisement in the *City Gazette* of November 19, 1787, that his skill was supported by well-known patrons. Today, few silhouettes from Charleston remain and even fewer are attributable to specific artists, which makes the survival of Moll’s profiles even more significant.⁶

The odyssey of this little album is in itself noteworthy. Credit for having saved Moll’s work is due the Canadian John Andre, who in the mid-1960s was researching the painter William Berczy for a centennial project of the Borough of York, Ontario. Berczy was co-founder of the city of Toronto and, as Andre discovered, christened Johann Albrecht Ulrich Moll; he was the younger brother of Bernhard Albrecht Moll.⁷ The result of Andre’s research was his “Sketch”

of William Berczy, published in 1967, in which he also mentions Bernhard Moll's profiles:

I have just found his pictorial diary, an album of silhouettes containing 150 profiles which include the Emperor, Born, various friends and his mother and three sisters. The remainder are American personalities between 1783–1785. His whereabouts, probably under an assumed name, from 1786 until his death, perhaps near Boston, remains a mystery.⁸

Andre purchased the album at a Mr. Howe's antique shop in Ware, Massachusetts, and presented it to the Canadiana Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto where it is now located. In an article published ten years later, Andre was able to provide additional information on the album's travels: Mr. Howe had bought it from a Mr. Coffin, dealer in old books and antiques, "who in turn had bought it 'a long time ago' in Boston from another antiquarian. Mr. Howe rebound the disintegrating book, which had meanwhile lost a few pages containing at least six silhouettes from Charleston."⁹

Yet the album held still another secret of which Andre was unaware: although there is no doubt that Moll produced the profiles, including among them members of his family and the expedition, the album itself most likely did not belong to him but to the expedition's leader Franz Joseph Märtner. The individual silhouettes were collected between 1783 and 1785, subjects identified, pages numbered, and a three-page index added. All these details are in Märtner's handwriting, as a comparison with his travel journals shows. Märtner also provided the captions to the silhouettes, spelling names phonetically in the manner of one whose English is flawed: *Betsy* becomes *Petsi*, *Beresford* is spelled *Birisford*, etc. Märtner's idiosyncratic spelling is also evident in the alternation between *Philadelphia* and *Phyladelphia*, between *s* and *f*—a habit also retained in his journal—and in the abbreviations for Miss and Mrs., sometimes misspelled, sometimes variously rendered in French as *Mm^e*, *Mad^{me}*, or *Md^e*. A very few profiles are labeled in a handwriting different from Märtner's (Mr.

George Hall, Mr. Charles Brown, Mr. Daniel Wilson, Mr. Beach); the writer is unknown. The untitled profile on page 83 verso with the characteristic Moll nose and chin that Andre identifies as Bernhard Moll might also be Moll's brother Albrecht, whom Märter did not know.¹⁰

Many problems and misconceptions remain despite Andre's pioneering work. Some of them are based on Andre's incomplete knowledge of Moll's life and his relationship to other expedition members, especially Märter; others are of Andre's own making.¹¹ Also, the lack of illustrations diminishes the usefulness of Andre's descriptions of Moll's art. Given the importance of Charleston as a center for the arts in the eighteenth century, coupled with the surprising dearth of extant profiles from the era, the publication of Moll's Charleston silhouettes becomes highly desirable. The different aspects of Moll's life and work are presented here in three distinct sections. A discussion of Moll's European background, his training, participation in the expedition, and final settlement in Charleston where he worked and taught until his death in 1788 forms the basic introduction to this virtually unknown artist. It is followed by a concise description of the album and its artistic significance as the major source of his work, including a discussion of subjects and style of the profiles. The reproduction of Moll's hitherto unpublished Charleston silhouettes, Märter's index, and an accurate transcription of the index to the album, conclude the presentation of this Charleston artist.

MOLL'S EARLY YEARS

Bernardus Albrechtus de Moll was baptized on November 25, 1743, at St. Alban's in Wallerstein, Germany, as the oldest son of Albrecht Theodor von Moll (1713–1772),¹² a descendant of four generations of Lutheran pastors and civil servants in communities around Nördlingen, Germany (Bavaria). The elder Moll broke with family

tradition when he married Johanna Häffel (1719–1792), Catholic daughter of the vice-prefect of Öttingen, on January 8, 1742.¹³ At the time Moll was aulic councillor, or legal adviser, at the Öttingen-Wallerstein court after having served the counts of Öttingen-Wallerstein first as secretary of state, then as cabinet secretary. Shortly before Christmas 1745, Count Philipp Carl of Öttingen-Wallerstein accredited him as his representative (Reichshofraths-Agent) to the Imperial Aulic Council¹⁴ in Vienna, and Albrecht Theodor moved his family from Wallerstein to Vienna. There, in accordance with the practice of the time, he became an agent for additional small territories. Between 1742 and 1759 the couple had twelve children, of whom at least four sons were baptized Lutheran and all the daughters Catholic. Although he was dismissed in 1755 as the agent of Count Öttingen-Wallerstein,¹⁵ the family continued to live in ambassadorial style.¹⁶

In Germany and Austria, the Age of Reason was at hand: religious tolerance had become a virtue, the educated elite succeeded in denting rigid class barriers, the desire to explore the unknown and the exotic gave rise to numerous expeditions to foreign continents, and the wish to appear learned resulted in the establishment of exhibit “cabinets”—from modest bourgeois collections to princely museums. Albrecht Theodor Moll’s *Naturalienkabinett*, an eight-thousand-item collection of mineral curiosities, was internationally renowned,¹⁷ as was his brother Bernhard Paul’s monumental collection of thirteen thousand geographical maps called “*Atlas Austriacus*,” now in the library of the University at Brno in the Czech Republic.

Surrounded by this atmosphere of intellectual competition and social upward mobility, Bernhard Albrecht Moll (1743–1788) grew up in the cultural capital of Europe, Empress Maria Theresa’s Vienna. In 1762 Bernhard and his brother Johann Albrecht (1744–1813) commenced studying at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts and then completed their education in Germany, registering on October 9, 1766, at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena.¹⁸

Among Bernhard's friends was Count Ignaz von Born (1742–1791), who considered himself a student of the elder Moll and frequently visited the Moll home and Naturalienkabinett. Von Born was a metallurgist and mineralogist by profession and only a year older than Bernhard. In his published letters of 1770 he writes, "I go zealously to our friend Herrn Reichsagent von Moll. I have spent three days examining his well-chosen collection of minerals, which is especially rich in petrified objects. The informative remarks that he makes regarding each object serve me as well as a formal lecture and please me greatly."¹⁹ Von Born was Hofrat (literally "court counsellor"; an upper-level government official or administrator) at the Imperial Chamber for Minting and Mining, as well as the leader of the influential Freemasons of Vienna. He is said to have been the model for Mozart's high priest in the *Magic Flute*.²⁰ As Bernhard's friend, von Born became a powerful mentor of his career in Vienna and in a position to assure Bernhard of a comfortable existence.

Then a number of setbacks occurred to change the course of Bernhard's life. His father died on June 14, 1772,²¹ leaving his mother to provide for four children who were not yet of age.²² Many of the territories Albrecht Theodor had represented at the Imperial Aulic Council never paid for his services or were slow in doing so, and the famous Naturalienkabinett and concomitant library turned out to be his chief legacy to his family.²³ Johanna Moll found herself virtually penniless until Empress Maria Theresa granted her an annual pension of 200 gulden in October 1777, citing her loyalty to the Catholic Church and her great need.²⁴ The older sons were expected to help support the family. Bernhard apparently served for some time as Aulic Councillor-agent, with the title Hofrat, for the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz,²⁵ but then entered the Imperial Military Academy as a cadet in the von Lattermann infantry regiment. However, while still a cadet young Bernhard came down with a "protracted illness" and suffered, according to a letter from the Chief Cham-

berlain to Emperor Joseph II, a “chest defect, rendering him disabled for further military service.”²⁶

In the spring of 1780 Bernhard Moll petitioned the Imperial Court for the position of Kaiserlicher und Königlich-er Kabinett-Maler, or Imperial Cabinet Painter, which was vacated by the recent death of Franz Joseph von Widon. This position carried a stipend and was a valuable endorsement of an artist’s skill. On March 30, 1780, Chief Chamberlain Count von Rosenberg informed the Empress that Moll had appended to his petition several sample drawings of natural objects which Rosenberg had forwarded to Ignaz von Born for an expert opinion. Von Born gave Moll an excellent recommendation, calling Moll’s drawings superior to any already owned by the Imperial Cabinet. With this superb testimonial in hand, Rosenberg wrote to the Empress, “Since not the least fault can be found regarding the supplicant’s skill, and since it would be a great support to his poor and distressed mother, burdened with many children, if he were to receive the desired favor, I can only recommend in all submissiveness to the superior benevolence of Your Majesty the granting of his most humble petition.”²⁷ Maria Theresa granted the plea, and on April 2, 1780, Johann Michael Edler von Mayr, Imperial purser, was advised by Joseph II to pay Moll as successor to Widon the annual salary of 800 gulden. On the same date an elaborate decree signed by Rosenberg was sent to Moll, advising him of the positive Imperial response to his petition because of his excellent work “in the art of drawing and painting” and the “respectable and virtuous conduct of his life.” He was also admonished to go about his work with diligence and conscientiousness, and advised that the decree was offered “to document Her Imperial Majesty’s grace toward him, on behalf of which he could and should enjoy the freedoms and prerogatives, rights and justifications of an Imperial-Royal Cabinet Painter.”²⁸

These documents are cited here at some length to show the rigid protocol at the Imperial court of Vienna, the good standing of Bern-

hard Moll's family in high society, the great influence of his friends, and the fact that he was perceived as the best artist in his field at the time.³⁹ The title "K.K. Kabinett-Maler" provided Moll not only with a stable position and income, but also with an influx of paying pupils and the prestige a court-affiliated painter enjoyed. It is surprising, given his status, that only one work by Moll from Vienna can be identified. A drawing he made of a house and courtyard in Vienna's Alsterbach district survives in an engraving by H. Amon of 1780, titled "Prospect am Alsterbach hinter den Invaliden in der Alstergasse in Wien" (View of the Alster brook behind the Invaliden in Alster Lane). The engraving accompanies Moll's advertisement in Vienna's *Realzeitung oder Beyträge und Anzeigen von Gelehrten und Kunsachen* in which he offers a series of his landscape engravings for sale by subscription.⁴⁰ It depicts a house in a fenced courtyard, beyond which two church steeples can be seen. Two children, a boy and a girl awkwardly reduced in scale, are fighting in the foreground. They are placed there almost as an afterthought and season the depicted peacefulness of an idyllic summer day in the country with stark realism. The two church steeples and the fighting children can be interpreted as a symbolic representation of Moll family tensions: dual confessions, split along gender lines.

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION

Bernhard Moll had been Cabinet painter less than two years when Emperor Joseph II, sole and absolute ruler over the huge Habsburg Empire since his mother's death in 1780, decided to outfit an expedition to exotic places to enlarge and restock the botanical and zoological gardens at his summer residence of Schönbrunn.⁴¹ The palace, now open to the public, was built to rival Versailles and was surrounded by extensive formal gardens, a large hunting reserve, and technologically sophisticated greenhouses, aviaries, and a zoo. Through a gardener's carelessness, however, a large number of tropi-

cal plants that had been collected on an earlier expedition by Nicolaus Joseph Jacquin³² froze in one of Schönbrunn's greenhouses. Originally von Born was to organize and lead the expedition, but he withdrew because of ill health. Instead, he and Jacquin were entrusted with the selection of the expedition's personnel, reporting directly to Vice Chancellor Count von Cobenzl.

Franz Joseph Märter (fig. 2) was chosen to go west as the leader of the American (West Indies) expedition. He was professor of natural history and economics at the Theresianum,³³ a Freemason, and a man with a difficult personality. Karl Haidinger, Assistant Director at the Imperial Naturalienkabinett and the second team member, was originally selected to go to Asia (India). When Moll heard about the Imperial mission, he again petitioned the Emperor. His undated letter, signed "Bernhard Albrecht Moll, *former* cabinet painter," asks permission to join the expedition as a painter of natural objects in return for "merely the necessary living expenses."³⁴ His argument is persuasive. He claims that his varied skills include the portrayal of natural objects, landscapes, and geographical drawings, and that without an accompanying artist, many interesting plants and objects the expedition might encounter would remain undescribed and undepicted, and "the goals of His Majesty might be achieved more fully if a greater abundance of natural objects became known." Finally, he says, "it had been his great desire since childhood to go on such a journey and he also possessed the requisite health and physical strength for it."³⁵

In view of his earlier dismissal from the Military Academy for reasons of health, his last statement seems overly optimistic. Nevertheless, Ignaz von Born supported his choice. In a memo of June 29, 1782, von Born reports:

Since I know that His Majesty is not averse to the idea that the two scientists separate and later unite at the Cape [of Good Hope], I have harbored the wish that a subject [of His Majesty] trained in drawing and painting be permitted to accompany and assist the one of these two

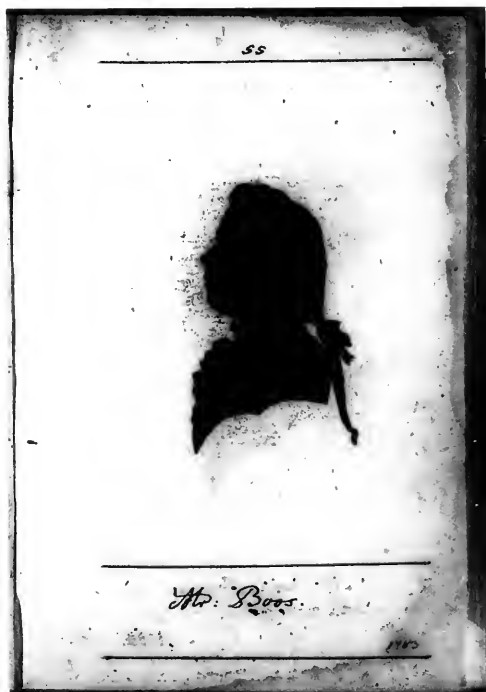


2. Bernard Moll, Mr. Maertel. Franz Joseph Märtel, the leader of Joseph II's American expedition (p. 291). 1783. The profiles from Moll's album are reproduced with permission from the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada. Accession #984.15-1. Gift of John Andre.

[Märter] who is not skilled in drawing. Bernard Moll, previously employed in the Imperial Naturalienkabinet with no equal in the field, an unmarried, healthy man of about 30 years, wishes nothing more fervently than to be permitted to travel along on this voyage. He demands nothing but the most essential support during the trip. I leave it to your Excellency's gracious insight to advise me about the participation of this painter who could already work during the voyage on those items destined to be engraved for the future edition of the travelogue.³⁶

It seems reasonable to assume that von Born was not entirely candid in this memo. Surely he knew that Moll was nearly forty years of age and not robust. It is likely he was also aware that Moll wanted to emigrate, for which subjects of European rulers needed special permission; in Moll's case this would not have been granted.³⁷

Against von Born's advice, Jacquin chose the physician Matthias Leopold Stupicz³⁸ to accompany Märter's expedition. This choice, too, seems to have been made for reasons other than the stated ones. Stupicz had attended Jacquin's lectures for several years and supposedly spoke seven languages. In actuality he spoke a flawed German, Hungarian, and Croat. Von Born objected because Stupicz had "not the least knowledge in any area of the natural sciences, a smattering of botany excepted that he learned from Professor Märter, whose assistant he was." He called on Stupicz "to admit this."³⁹ Nevertheless, both Stupicz and Moll were chosen to accompany Märter on his expedition. Richard van der Schot, the Imperial horticulturist at Schönbrunn, was given the task to select two gardeners for the journey who would collect specimens and prepare and accompany plant shipments back to Europe. Schot chose his assistant Franz Boos (fig. 3) and gave him Franz Bredemeyer (fig. 4) as helper.⁴⁰ Born writes in his memo that "the gardener *Bos*, who is to make the trip on His Majesty's order, will receive his instructions from the Imperial horticulturist at Schönbrunn on how he is to go about collecting the plants."⁴¹ Märter, the leader of the expedition, was apparently unaware of this decision; it later caused much fric-



3. Mr. Boos. *Franz Boos, the gardener for the American expedition (p. 55r). 1783.*



4. Mr. Bredemeyer. *Franz Bredemeyer, the assistant gardener for the American expedition (p. 51r). 1783.*

tion between him and the gardeners.⁴² Thus began an expedition that suffered from the outset from a multitude of misunderstandings.

After the five members of the westward expedition were selected, considerable time elapsed before they began their journey. A ship was chosen, given the name *Le Comte Cobenzl* in honor of the Vice Chancellor, and Lt. Col. Bolz⁴³ was entrusted with its command. Plans were made to make the East Indian expedition less expensive by taking a cargo of mercury and selling it in China.⁴⁴ Salaries were determined, reevaluated, and changed. Eventually it was decided that the men should be responsible for their own food and lodging expenses once they had arrived in America, and that their salaries should approximate their remuneration prior to the expedition minus their board during the transatlantic voyage.⁴⁵

While plans and preparations were still being made, lists being drawn up of the type of plants and animals to procure, and letters of credit being arranged through banks and ambassadors, Märter and Moll found themselves in financial difficulties. On December 4, 1782, Ignaz von Born wrote Cobenzl that immediately upon Märter's appointment to the expedition a substitute professor of natural history had been chosen to fill his chair at the Theresianum. While the substitute had begun teaching and receiving his (Märter's) salary in November, Märter was unable to make ends meet without an income, particularly in view of the indefinite date of departure. Born adds:

The painter Moll finds himself in the same predicament. Expecting his departure from week to week, unable to take on work, he had also dismissed his students, and is now starving miserably after five months with no income. I felt it to be my duty to advise your Excellency of these circumstances and to leave it to Your Grace to arrange for a remedy.⁴⁶

Finally the day of departure was at hand. Three days before he was to leave Vienna forever, Bernhard Albrecht Moll formally relinquished his share in his father's inheritance, particularly in the all-

important collection of minerals. On April 24, 1783, he signed the following renunciation:

Because I am about to depart from here and will be absent from my family in such a way that we cannot receive news from each other for some considerable time; I declare herewith solemnly and earnestly, under no duress and irrevocably for all time and circumstances; knowing that I shall never have the right to change my mind or make valid dispositions either by testament, gift, directive or exchange (since all shall be declared for naught and invalid); that I earnestly renounce all natural claims on the "Naturalienkabinet" and the concomitant book collection of my blessed father's estate, now in the hands of my dear mother; and that I surrender and yield my share to my surviving sisters and to their unhindered enjoyment and free disposition as of a perfect possession, as God is my witness! Vienna, 24 April 1783.

[Signed and Scaled]

BERNHARD ALBRECHT MOLL
*K.K. Naturalien Kabinet Painter*⁴⁷

Three days later, on April 27, 1783, at 9:45 a.m. the five (Märter, Stupicz, Moll, Boos, and Bredemeyer) began their journey by *diligence* (stagecoach) from Vienna to Brussels. They carried with them multiple passports signed by the Emperor; letters of recommendation; a list of consuls, ambassadors, and ministers; Imperial letters of credit in French, English, and Latin; and lists of desired plants, birds, and animals. Because the physician Matthias Leopold Stupicz kept a daily journal of the trip, we know that they traveled along the same route taken by today's trains: Vienna, St. Pölten, Amstetten, Linz. At Passau they crossed into German territory and continued to Regensburg, Nürnberg, Würzburg, Frankfurt, Mainz, Bonn, Aachen; then, crossing into today's Belgian territory, Liège, Louvain, and finally Brussels, where they arrived on May 20.⁴⁸

Once there, a change of plans ordered them to Paris, then to Le Havre. Much time was wasted, much money had to be spent on tolls and customs duties along the way. A new map of North America was acquired and two specialty maps of Virginia and Carolina.⁴⁹ In

August they finally left Le Havre for Philadelphia. Märter's journal records the memorable event:

After waiting 5 days for favorable winds, August 1, 1783, was finally the wished-for day on which we were able to depart Europe. The opportunity arose for passage on the American frigate *General Washington*, the best sailship then owned by the American Navy. During the last war she had been captured off the coast of Delaware from the English, who called her *General Mong*.⁵⁰ Our Captain was the conqueror, a young but courageous man, an expert in naval matters who had made several trips to Europe on Congressional business. The last crossing to France took him 16½ days.⁵¹

It was probably the only time the captain enjoyed such a brief transatlantic voyage. Märter and his four companions arrived in Philadelphia on September 9 at 11 a.m. local time (4 p.m. by Märter's watch, which he had left on European time) after 40 days at sea, during which they experienced three terrible storms, nearly ran out of drinking water, and were seasick much of the time. Arriving in Delaware Bay and sailing up the river toward Philadelphia, Märter was overcome with emotion.

All afternoon we had before our eyes the most romantic scene imaginable: the white beaches of the river, disappearing into dark woods farther inland; softly rising hills dotted here and there with pristine farm houses of the first European settlers in America; small canoes crossing everywhere—these gave us the happiest thoughts about the new world that lay before us.⁵²

Their captain briefly left the ship and brought back fresh watermelons, apples, and peaches, which tasted heavenly after the long deprivation at sea. River islands, overgrown with reeds, were teeming with ducks and other wildlife, and the sky was darkened with suddenly rising flocks of blackbirds. They saw nothing but "the most convincing proof of the natural bounty of this land."⁵³ Märter decided to remain in the area for two months, then go farther south with approaching winter.

However, it now appeared that Bernhard Moll had different plans. Shortly after their arrival he wrote to Ignaz von Born that he liked America and had decided to remain in the New World. The letter was sent from Philadelphia, dated September 17, 1783, and the style shows that Moll and von Born were friends who trusted each other. After reporting on their stormy passage, Moll continues:

I would have had a merry trip, had I had healthy companions. Mr. Märter spoke nary a word the entire journey. Stuppitz whined and prayed, and nothing much could be done with the gardeners. Besides, I found few items that I could draw to pass the time. There was nothing for me besides a flying fish, a medusan, and a small grouper—these three pieces I drew in my cabin during calm. Here in Philadelphia I have already completed the *Exocoetus volans* which Catesby drew completely wrong and illuminated it in his work. I will be able to send already much of my work with the first transport. How glorious it is in this free city! We've been here for 8 days and not a soul bothers us. We live as freely as if we were American-born. I like it so much that I would settle here if I were permitted, I would certainly not starve since there are few artists here and none in my field. The States really permit a naturalist to travel freely to the innermost parts of the country, hence I would make a good living because the gentlemen pay handsomely. I could also make a good bit of money with silhouettes until I've gotten around to all the provinces. Already I have a collection of *civilized American* faces.⁵⁴

The phrase "I would settle here if I were permitted" is an indirect appeal to von Born to make discreet inquiries in the matter, and he discussed it with Cobenzl.⁵⁵ The individual members of the expedition were never very compatible. Since they were responsible for their own food and lodging, had separate instructions for their mission, and worked independently, team work never had a chance to develop. Besides, Märter was ten years younger than Moll, a commoner, and a Catholic; rather than fill a leadership role, he tended to emphasize personal dissimilarities.⁵⁶ Ultimately, the differences in salary and social class were a never-ending source of discontent in the land of freedom and equality.⁵⁷

While Märter worked chiefly alone from a home base in Philadelphia, Moll and Bredemeyer formed a team that worked separately in the provinces. Moll drew cryptogamous plants, tortoises and birds,⁵⁸ but he also produced a considerable number of silhouettes for his own benefit, as the album demonstrates. The profiles of Miss Schall of Bethlehem and numerous others from the Philadelphia, New York, and New Jersey area document his travels inland and along the coast (for a listing of Moll's subjects, see the Appendix). While the silhouettes of his family and the emperors Joseph II and Maximilian were not prepared for profit, those of German merchants, military personnel, and ship captains in New York and Philadelphia were most certainly remunerated and provided Moll with an income in addition to his salary.

After two months in the Northeast, Stupicz and Boos left Philadelphia by boat for Charleston. Märter gave Stupicz instructions and eight hundred thalers in paper money, and on November 4, 1783, they began their journey southward. Stupicz's daily journal informs about their slow progress, the cold, the storms, and life on board. On November 9 he wrote: "During the night I was baptized 5 times in my bed by the waves. At daybreak the storm subsided, everyone was sick, I made some hot chocolate, cooked meat for dinner, and at noon we were 270 miles from Philadelphia."⁵⁹ Doing their own cooking was one of the time-consuming chores to which the expedition members had become accustomed. Once on land, the tasks of seeking their daily lodging, exchanging their foreign banknotes for local currency, and maintaining their clothes torn in the wilderness caused additional delays.

On November 17 Stupicz and Boos arrived in Charleston: "We saw land both southwest and northwest and at 7:00 a.m. came the pilot. Toward 9:00 a.m. the city came in view and at about 10:30 we docked."⁶⁰ Stupicz's daily record provides interesting insights into commercial life during the winter of 1783–1784 in and around Charleston. Looking for plants and seeds, he and Boos came upon

Dorchester, "a poor place, completely destroyed by the British,"⁶¹ waded through knee-deep mud walking to Goose Creek and Monk's Corner, and spent some bitterly cold nights without a fire or blankets on the bare floor of country inns. Obtaining food in the thickets was impossible, and since they had been unable to exchange more than fifty thalers into local currency, they ate only little at the inn. Alone, on foot, and without a gun, Stupicz once encountered an alligator: "When the rain let up in the afternoon I went along the river with my walking stick and found a crocodile."⁶² Didn't cross over, partly because I didn't have a rifle and partly because the brushy terrain didn't permit me to defend myself. Brought home several kinds of seeds."⁶³

MOLL'S CHARLESTON YEARS

On his return to Charleston Stupicz found that Moll and the gardener Bredemeyer had arrived from the Northeast. He writes on December 16, 1783: "Toward 9:00 a.m. I met Moll and the gardener, brought them to my place and spent the day with them."⁶⁴ Moll experienced the same difficulty as Stupicz in exchanging the Emperor's bankdrafts and banknotes into the needed local currency. On numerous occasions he and Stupicz unsuccessfully went to a Danish ship in the harbor whose merchant owner had held out some promise to cash their paper notes,⁶⁵ and on December 20 Moll invited Stupicz to dinner at his place. Stupicz spent considerable time with Moll during the Christmas season and went to St. John's German Lutheran church repeatedly. Moll did not accompany him to church, and on January 2, 1784, Stupicz left the city again to continue his botanizing activities in the countryside with the two gardeners.

During 1784 the difficulties among the members of the expedition came to a head. Märter, who had arrived in Charleston on January 16, 1784,⁶⁶ and had found the weather to be colder than expected,

was eager to move on. Taking Boos with him, he stopped briefly in St. Augustine in mid-March and then continued to the Bahamas, returning to Charleston at the end of May. Stupicz he had sent northward. In his report of June 15 from Charleston to Count Cobenzl he notes with scathing sarcasm that Stupicz, "this great polyglot, has not yet learned the English language to a point where he can function among Englishmen without an interpreter . . . and since nobody speaks Hungarian or Croat in North America, I had to send him to the few Germans in North Carolina to collect whatever rarities, if any, he might find for us there."⁶ In the same letter Märter complains that three quarters of the birds he had bought for shipment to Vienna had died during his absence from Charleston because Moll and Bredemeyer had not tended them properly. This is surely an unfair accusation inasmuch as Stupicz mentions in his journal that the birds he purchased died within twenty-four hours in captivity.

A major source of discontent among Märter's crew continued to be salary inequities and exchange rates. Since they were required to pay for their own living expenses, they felt cheated when they did not receive the full equivalent of the sum promised them at home; but South Carolina's currency problems in the aftermath of the Revolution made it very difficult to exchange foreign bills for local money. "Stupicz has insinuated here and there that I am defrauding him of a part of his salary, refusing to accept the true value of the Spanish thalers which I receive at the local bank, and instead wants the equivalent of their worth in Vienna," Märter writes. Although aware of Moll's powerful friends at home, he also complains at length about him and asks Count Cobenzl for advice on the personnel problems he was experiencing:

Moll, who has been the most useful of them until now, has changed completely. He perceives a rosy future for himself in his profession in America and didn't lift a finger for his job while I was in the Bahamas,

despite the many items I had left behind for painting. When I returned he demanded a monthly raise of 16 Thalers, and because I didn't agree immediately, he became most impolite. Now he is so derelict in his duty that he has merely produced the few plates I am sending, none in duplicate, and just barely acceptable for engraving; and although I pay him the extra money so as not to give him an excuse, I can see by everything he does that he just wants to force his dismissal by refusing to do his duty. It is a thankless process.⁶⁸

Märter's judgment proved correct. Little more than three months later he was forced to report the final breakdown of his relationship with Moll. On September 28, 1784, he wrote from Charleston to his superiors in Vienna that he had discovered the real reason for Moll's insubordination:

A few days ago some light was shed on the case of the painter Moll: his dereliction of duty and the constant grumbling about his small salary plus 8 Thaler bonus per month (which is relatively speaking a much larger sum than my own) brought me to the decision to send him back to Europe on the first available vessel. The moment I told him . . . to get ready for the trip he revealed the secret of his complaints and dissatisfaction which he presumably communicated to you. He answered "that he was not a subject of the Emperor and hence not bound to return; that as of this time he considered his services no longer needed, and neither my [Märter's] superior nor I were presently able to deport him; nor did he desire to see his Fatherland ever again."⁶⁹

Märter knew that he was on thin ice. As leader of the expedition it was his prerogative to send Moll home; as a commoner it was presumptuous of him to demand obedience from the only nobleman in the group. He was surely aware of the high esteem in which Moll's family was held at court. He feared that Moll had told his friends in Vienna unflattering things about him, and that his fellow Mason and leader Ignaz von Born would back Moll's version of the tale. He admitted that "it would seem incredible that a person who had been recommended by such eminent men should be so unsatisfactory,"

and therefore he found it necessary to enclose a statement by witnesses. The brief statement reads: "The undersigned attest that Mr. Moll refused the bidding of Director Märter to return and be held accountable as a useless and dissatisfied member of the expedition, and that he [Moll] withdrew voluntarily from Imperial service. [Signed] D. Stupicz, Franz Boos."⁷⁰

The news of Moll's defection caused little surprise in Vienna. On November 15, 1784, von Born wrote to Cobenzl that Märter would have to continue his travels alone with Boos because Moll and Stupicz had found sufficient means in America to make a living.⁷¹ He seems unperturbed, "especially since according to their decrees they will not be able to obtain a position at court after their return."⁷² Vice Chancellor Cobenzl's letter of November 22, 1784, addressed to His Majesty is also seemingly unconcerned. He notes the recent arrival of Bredemeyer with a substantial shipment of animals and plants from North America and some paintings of native animals by Moll, then chats pleasantly about expected future shipments from other parts of the world. He mentions the loss of personnel almost in passing and suggests that four "new subjects" be sent to meet Märter in Martinique to replace the original crew; it would make no difference in the cost of the expedition, since only the insignificant travel costs of the four would be involved.⁷³

The only one genuinely surprised by this turn of events seems to have been Joseph II. Stung by the defection of Moll, who had received many noteworthy favors from the Imperial family, he wrote a lengthy reply in the margin of Cobenzl's report: "I am not as indifferent as you to the loss of two people like Stubitz and Moll, for whom one has paid travel expenditures. Besides these costs, they shall be lost to the state as subjects." He blames Märter's quarrelsome nature for the fiasco, criticizes the inferior quality and quantity of the recently arrived shipment, and concludes that Märter merely wanted to get rid of his companions in order to be left to do as he pleased. His instructions were that Märter should receive no addi-

tional assistants, that he proceed to East India with Boos, and return to Europe after a final collection stop at the Cape of Good Hope. For the two renegades Joseph II has a final message:

You are to write Stubitz and Moll that they are reminded of their duty and integrity by means of which they offered to complete an assignment for payment. It is hoped, therefore, that they will fulfill this obligation unless they want to be publicly known as deadbeats and swindlers. Confident of the contrary they are to be *privately* assigned to gather—alone and independently of Märter—a well-chosen collection of minerals, plants, and animals in South and North America and in the Antilles, and to return with it to Europe.

In this manner you will proceed with this business and write to both Märter and Stubitz.

[Signed in his own hand]

JOSEPH II.⁷⁴

Cobenzl wrote his reply to Märter on November 29, 1784, reporting that Bredemeyer had arrived with the transport, but that most of the plants and animals had died en route. Only sixteen of the original ninety birds had survived, along with one raccoon and a very small number of plants. Regarding Moll he writes:

I don't doubt that you have confronted Moll and emphasized his ungrateful wrongmindedness, and also have read to him my letter of September 16 in this regard. Therefore I don't want to give up hope yet that he will arrive at some insight and will fulfill his obligation better than before.⁷⁵ However, if he should persist in his idleness and eventually leave you, you will have to let it happen. You have no means to force him to fulfill his duty, and to drag along an individual who doesn't want to work would only cause inconvenience and useless expense.⁷⁶

For all intents and purposes, this signified the end of the Moll affair for the Austrian Imperial Court in Vienna. In the meantime, Moll had indeed settled at No. 31 Broad Street in Charleston and had begun advertising for students. On November 23, 1784, the following ad appeared in the *Gazette* (see figure 1):

The ART of DRAWING.

Bernard Moll (lately from Vienna)

REQUESTS leave to Inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of this City, that he has undertaken to teach that necessary accomplishment,

The Art of Drawing,

In All its branches.

He flatters himself (from the attention which he shall observe) to those whom he has the honour of instructing, that with application they will in a short time become proficient. - Profiles done in the most exact manner, of all sizes, No. 31, Broad-street.⁷⁷

At the time of this advertisement Moll had already gained acceptance by many of Charleston's prominent families. Silhouettes of more than five dozen important Charleston residents are represented in Moll's album for 1784 alone, among them a number of those that the Swiss-born artist Jeremiah Theus also had painted before his death in 1774, such as Dr. Irving and members of the Motte, Rutledge, and Heyward families.

Three months after this first advertisement Moll again publicized his skill in creating silhouettes, an inexpensive and popular means of portraiture. A person's profile was drawn either on black paper or the drawing was inked in. The silhouette could also be cut out carefully, mounted on an appropriate background, and framed. This variation is not documented in Charleston before Moll practiced it there. On February 25, 1785, the *Gazette* carried this advertisement:

Profile Likenesses
Done in the most exact manner, and
very reasonably, by
BERNARD MOLL,
No. 31, Broad-street.⁷⁸

It is clear that Moll liked Charleston and its New World culture. The city had a large and well-established segment of German-speaking immigrants who had brought with them German books and a desire for cultural amenities. As early as 1736 Charleston had a permanent theater and was one of the first American cities to afford its very own professional stage. Indicative of the size and importance of the city's German-speaking population in the late eighteenth century is the fact that Charleston was the first American city to stage a German play.⁷⁹ The city also had a substantial contingent of German-speaking businessmen such as Michael Kalteisen, who founded the German Friendly Society in 1766 and was co-founder of St. John's, the first German-language Lutheran church in Charleston; craftsmen such as the shoemaker and tailor Henry Timrod, the first to sign the list of volunteers for the German Fusiliers, organized in the defense against the British in 1775; musicians such as Charles Theodore Pachelbel, organist at St. Philip's from 1739 to his death; and Hermann Moll, a surveyor and cartographer who may have been a relative of Bernhard Moll, whose work is also well known. Hermann Moll produced some of the earliest maps of South Carolina, the originals of which are now in the Austrian National Library.⁸⁰ Obviously, Moll's decision to travel to America and remain in Charleston was well planned. When he said in his application to the Emperor that "it had been his great desire since childhood to go on such a journey," he most likely spoke the truth; on May 23, 1785 he took the oath of allegiance to become a citizen of the United States.

During the next two years Moll moved several times within the city. In late August or early September 1785 he relocated his home and studio to 27 Tradd Street and advertised his new address in the *Columbian Herald*:

MOLL,
DRAWING-MASTER,
Is removed to No. 27, Tradd-street,
Where he teaches that art on very reasonable terms.⁸¹

The following year he moved to Lynch's Lane. He appears to have made contact with Charleston's upper class and made an adequate living, but at the time pulmonary diseases ravaged South Carolina's population in epidemic proportions and Moll's earlier "protracted illness" and "chest defect" may have taken a turn for the worse. On November 19, 1787, he advertised in the *City Gazette* that he had moved to 31 King Street, a choice location then as now, offering the testimony of "several of the most eminent families" in Charleston as witness to his skill. If he was feeling ill, the schedule he maintained belied it. Indeed, the founding of a school suggests an overflow of pupils at a respectable tuition:

Drawing Academy.

THE subscriber begs leave to inform his friends and the public in general, that he has removed from his late apartments in Lynch's Lane, to No. 31, King-street, where he means to carry on

The Art of Drawing,

in all its different branches; he therefore solicits the favours of all young ladies and gentlemen, and flatters himself they will kindly grant him their support, the facility of his instructions being well known to several of the most eminent families in this City.

He continues to give lessons twice a week at his own House, viz. Thursdays and Saturdays, from 3 to 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and from 7 to 9 in the evening—He has also opened an Evening School twice a week, viz. Mondays and Wednesdays—His price is one guinea per month, and one guinea entrance.

Barnard A. Moll,
Drawing Master.⁸²

Bernhard Moll had found sufficient means to remain in America, but the fulfillment of his childhood dream coincided with his death. He lived to see his U.S. citizenship duly recorded in Charleston on April 30, 1788: "This is to certify, that Bernhard Moll, Gentleman,

late a Subject of the Emperor of Germany is become a Citizen of this State he having taken and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity."⁸¹ His will, dated June 25, 1788, is the last known document signed by him and leaves his entire possessions to a woman named Hagar, with whom he lived at the time.⁸⁴ Moll must have died shortly thereafter because Edward Lightwood qualified as executor of Bernhard Moll's will on July 23, 1788. On September 9, 1788, Moll's personal effects were sold,⁸⁵ and on November 13, 1788, his paintings and professional utensils changed owners at public auction.⁸⁶ A final inventory and a last call for outstanding debts were the last memorations of Bernhard Moll.⁸⁷

Nobody thought of notifying his family in Vienna of his death. When Mrs. Moll died in 1792, six surviving children were listed in the probate records, including Bernhard Moll. The document states that "the first of these sons [Bernhard] went to America. His last letter was from Charlestown in the month of December 1786. Since that time his family has not heard from him, however."⁸⁸ The renunciation of Moll's claims to his father's estate that he had signed on 24 April 1783 played its significant role in the settlement of the case.

THE ALBUM AND MOLL'S SILHOUETTES

Besides the engraving that accompanied Moll's advertisement in Vienna's *Realzeitung*, only the volume of silhouettes in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, can be positively attributed to Moll. The album contains 148 profiles of which 76 sitters are labeled as being from Charleston. Judge Heyward (page 17 verso) is also from Charleston, although not so designated. The seventy existing Charleston silhouettes and a transcription of Märter's index are reproduced in the Appendix. The index lists 151 names. The profiles of Miss Neuman and Mr. Somarsall (page 82 recto and verso), and an unidentified silhouette on page 83 verso (possibly Bernhard Moll or his brother Albrecht) are missing from the index. Pages 1 and 2 con-

tain the profiles of Emperors Joseph II and Maximilian of Austria; pages 3 to 6 are blank and not listed in the index; Mr. Hall's silhouette on page 7 has been bound between pages 4 and 5; and the profiles of Mrs. and Mr. Sanders (pages 42r and 43r, respectively) are misnumbered in the index. Three pages, 73, 76, and 79, are missing from the album; according to the index, the sitters on those pages were Mrs. Terons (73r), Mr. Armstrong (73v), Mr. Smyth (76r), and Mrs. Braun (79r) and Mr. Kraus (79v). The name for page 76 verso is illegible.

The profiles were cut from black-washed paper and first placed on the recto side of the laid-paper pages of the album, which measures 5.8 x 4 inches.⁹⁰ The images vary in size, suggesting that some were intended for mounting in oval frames or lockets. Profiles of Emperors Joseph II and Maximilian introduce the album, followed by the portraits of Ignaz von Born, Moll's family members, and prominent Viennese officials. Members of the expedition also appear in the early section. The order suggests that the collection was begun in Vienna and that these early silhouettes were affixed according to the social ranking of the individuals. Successive sitters from Belgium, France, the American Northeast (Philadelphia, New York, New Jersey), and Charleston fit the chronology of Moll's travels. Initially, the silhouettes were placed only on the recto side of each page, which was numbered and marked off by lines to suggest a frame for the profile. When the end of the album was reached, profiles were also placed on the verso side, beginning at the front of the album from page 7. (Emperors Joseph II and Maximilian were respectfully accorded an entire album leaf to themselves.) In this manner most of the rest of the album was filled, but the chronological order as one leafs through the album is confusing.

The silhouettes depict members of Charleston's foremost families. It speaks for Moll's skill that several of them had also commissioned portraits by Jeremiah Theus (d. 1774).⁹⁰ Among them is Thomas Heyward, Jr. (1746–1809), signer of the Declaration of Indepen-

dence, who was later made a judge in South Carolina. Moll's silhouette "Judge Heyward" is dated 1784 (figure 25). Moll's "Ms. Hayn" may be the young woman whom Theus painted earlier as "Little Alice Hayne" feeding a squirrel. Alice Hayne was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Hayne, both of whom Theus also painted. Moll's Miss Hayne portrays a self-assured, stylishly dressed young woman (figure 68). The Alexander Fraser painted in 1750 by Jeremiah Theus is perhaps the "Mr. Fraser" depicted in Moll's silhouette (figure 59). He and his wife Mary Grimke (possibly Moll's "Mrs. Fraser," figure 60) had fourteen children, of whom Moll's Alex, Polly, Betsy, Judy, Nancy, Suky, and James Fraser may be a few (figures 61–67).

The profiles of Mrs. and Mr. Garden (figures 37 and 38) may well be those of Alexander Garden, Jr., son of the famous physician and naturalist of the same name, and his wife, Ann Gibbes. The couple was married in 1784, and the profiles have an air of celebration about them; Mrs. Garden might very well have sat for Moll in her wedding costume.⁹¹

Among other Charleston families portrayed by Theus is the family of George Abbott Hall. Moll's silhouettes include a profile of George Abbott Hall, his two sons John Ladson and George, Jr., and seven daughters, all except Elizabeth (Moll's "Miss Betsy Hall") under age (figures 15–24).⁹² The elder Hall owned property in Tradd Street where Moll also had a studio. Interestingly, *The Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives* states that the names of only five of Hall's nine children could be found; the album identifies all nine.⁹³

Others of Charleston's social elite profiled by Moll include the Rutledge, Drayton, Middleton, Huger, Mott, Irving, and Purcell families. The silhouette of the Rev. Henty Purcell was cut in the year in which he was elected Rector of St. Michael's Parish church in Charleston (figure 30).⁹⁴ A separate, detailed study of these families relative to Moll's silhouettes may well result in the discovery of additional works by him.

Bernhard Moll was perhaps the first artist who employed the technique of *cutting* profiles in Charleston, a variation of the genre requiring considerably more skill than merely drawing and painting them. In Vienna, the art flourished as a parlor-game entertainment; silhouettists would quickly and dexterously cut likenesses before an appreciative audience. In Charleston, the portrait painter Cephas Thompson advertised in 1804 that he cut profiles “with his machine, which is on a new principle, and more accurate than any in use.”⁹⁵ He also *painted* silhouettes. Isaac Todd cut profiles in 1807 which he stamped with “Todd’s patent,”⁹⁶ and Mr. Cromwell from London cut profiles in 1810, advertising “a superior style of accuracy and elegance to any ever before taken in Charleston.”⁹⁷ In the same year, John Thomson, “lately arrived from the West-Indies,” cut and painted profiles and taught drawing “in all its branches.”⁹⁸ If Moll indeed introduced this technique in Charleston, it would explain his popularity and his comment to Born shortly after his arrival that there were few artists and none in his field.

All of Moll’s silhouettes show remarkable dexterity in their scissor-cutting and exquisite skill in characterization, capturing the demeanor and individual personality traits of the sitters. Dr. Irving, with his soft, fleshy lips, bushy eyebrows and thick, braided tresses, seems portly joviality personified (figure 81). The Rev. Henry Purcell shows both a fine, somewhat reserved, very correct manner of the minister, and the very erect bearing of a military man. An almost childlike innocence is portrayed in the youthful faces of the two gardeners Boos and Bredemeyer (figures 3 and 4), whereas Mr. Märter’s profile, while still youthful, conveys a more forceful, determined attitude (figure 2). The furrowed brow and doubtfully raised chin of “Mr. Lecke from Hamburg” betray the savvy, energetic businessman (figure 27).

Concentrating on portraying the personality of the sitters, Moll avoids the large and elaborate headdresses of the time, usually showing the men without hats and the women with small, frilly caps or

hats that accentuate and complement the face rather than detracting from its features. The silhouette of Mr. Franc. Föhrmann, probably made while Moll was still in Europe, illustrates the reason: his expression is overpowered by the large, substantial-looking hat—perhaps part of a required military uniform—that dwarfs his features (figure 5). His features seem almost coincidental to the attire.

Nevertheless, the portraits carefully depict the sometimes extravagant ladies' headdresses of the 1780s. Moll is particularly adept at capturing the feeling of the showy ribbons, lace, artificial flowers, and feathers that went into these confections. Though several women wear hats, these are small compared with the large hats seen in many painted portraits of fashionable women of the period.⁹⁰ The fanciful headdresses worn by Misses Betsy and Sarah Hall both soften the impression of Betsy's energetic profile and add interest to Sarah's unassuming features (figures 16 and 17). In either case they enhance and frame the personal characteristics of the sitter. In contrast, an unassuming cap covers and hides the hair of Caroline at Mr. Deslandes (figure 6). Effortlessly, it seems, the artist captures the countenance of the old woman with her bent body and sorrowful brow. She is the only one in the album identified only by her first name, a liberty commonly taken with servants and indigent, live-in relatives.

Moll's silhouettes are among the best of the genre, and the cross section of businessmen and workers, ministers' wives and noblewomen, children and old politicians, provides an interesting perspective on eighteenth-century society and family life. How the album came into Märter's hands, or if it was not perhaps even Märter's own from the outset, is a question that must remain open. Since silhouettes were commonly cut in multiples, Moll may have kept examples in the album to showcase his skill to prospective clients. On the other hand, Märter may have compiled the album himself with cuts given him by Moll. According to his contract as a member of the expedition, Moll was to supply all of his paintings and drawings to Märter in duplicate to guard against loss during



5. Mr. Franc: Föhrmann (p. 28r). 1783.



6. Caroline chez Mr. Deslandes (p. 36r). 1783.

shipment. After Moll arrived in Charleston in December 1783, he spent most of his time establishing himself among the first families of the city and neglected his contractual duties. When Märter returned to Charleston from the Bahamas in May 1784 he found that Moll hadn't worked on the items he had left behind to be painted, had only produced a few plates ("none in duplicate"),¹⁰⁰ and had instead sold silhouettes for private profit. Since Moll was still being paid a salary by Märter throughout 1784, it is probable that Märter insisted on receiving cuts of Moll's silhouettes. When Märter eventually left Charleston in the spring of 1785 without Moll, the addition of silhouettes to his collection ended. It is entirely possible that he sold the profiles before leaving America, sensing that he would be denied resumption of his teaching position upon his return to Vienna, which did occur. On receiving a report dated August 11, 1788, on Märter's expedition, Joseph II replied in the margin that Märter had served poorly in the job entrusted to him, and that he could not expect to be reinstated in his academic position upon his return.¹⁰¹

Moll's Charleston silhouettes, published here for the first time, introduce this artist's work and fill a perceived void in Charleston of extant examples of the genre. It is hoped that their publication will stimulate a search for additional works by Moll in Charleston, in the Northeast, and overseas. It may also be worth investigating if some copies of Theus portraits were the work of Moll, since a number of Charleston families commissioned work by both artists.

Finally, I would like to state my gratitude to the many individuals in Austria, Canada, and the United States for their assistance in my research, for copies of necessary documents, and their expert advice. Special thanks go to MESDA and its staff for a research grant in the winter of 1993 and for their always friendly help in preparing this publication.

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Appendix

Transcription of the index to Bernard Moll's profile album

This is a transcription of the index found in the back of the album. Column 1 gives the name as it was inscribed in the index, and column 2 gives the page number. Whereas Märter underlined the numbers that indicate the verso side, here *r* and *v* for recto and verso are used; otherwise the irregular punctuation of the original has been retained. The dates in column 3 are those written on the profiles. Column 4 provides the complete caption that appears under the profile.

The index does not contain entries for pages 82 and 83. The individuals represented are Mis Newmann of Charleston, 1785 (82r); J. Somarvall, 1785 (82v); Mr. Beach, 1785 (83r), and the unidentified profile that is assumed to be either Bernard Moll or his brother, William Berczy (83v). Page 84r is blank, and the index begins on 84v and continues on both sides of page 85, the last page of the album.

Profiles that are reproduced in this article are indicated by an asterisk before the name.

<i>Listing in index, in order in which it appears</i>	<i>page no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>caption under profile</i>
			A.
Mr. Armstrong	73v		<i>Folio ~3 is missing from the album.</i>
			B.
Mr Born	8r	1783	de Born.
*Mr Berkmeier	20v	1784	Mr. Berkmeier from Hamburg in Charleston
Mr Brucher	25r	1783	Mr Brucher

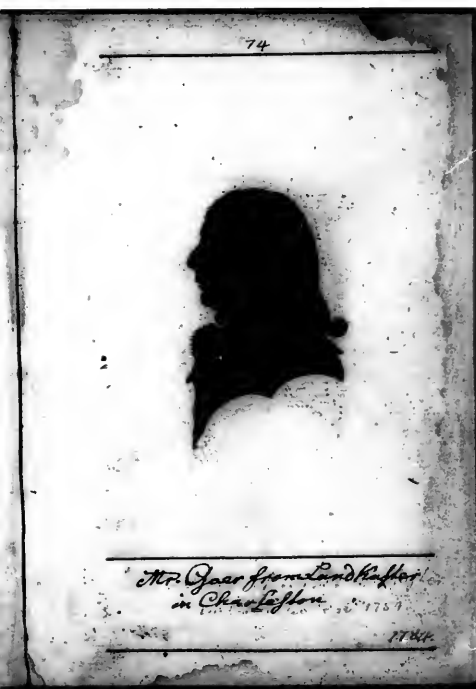
<i>Listing in index, in order in which it appears</i>	<i>page no</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>caption under profile</i>
*Mr. Behagen	33v	1784	Mr Behagen from Coppenhagen in Charleston
*Mrs v. Braun	35v	1784	M ^{rs} . van Braun from Amsterdam in Charleston
*Mr. Berisford	39v	1784	Mr Beresford of Charleston
*Mrs. [Berisford]	40v	1784	M ^{rs} Birisford. from Charleston
*Mr Brown Jac:	45v	1784	Mr Charles Brown of Charleston
*[Mr] Bredemeyer	51r	1783	Mr: Bredemeyer.
*[Mr] Boos	55r	1783	Mr: Boos.
[Mr] Bencke	58r	1783	Mr: Bencke de Hambourg, en Phyladelphie
[Mr] Boden	61r	1783	Mr: Boden de Hambourg en Phyladelphie.
*Mr: Brown Jos.	71v	1785	Mr: Joseph Brown at Charleston
Mr. Braun	79r		<i>Folio 79 is missing from the album.</i>
*Mr: Beckman	80v	1785	Mr Charles Beckman at Charleston
			C.
*Ms Caroline	36r	1783	Caroline chez Mr. Deslandes
*Mr Chion	36v	1784	Mr. Chion from Amsterdam in Charleston
*Mr Chion Jun:	37v	1784	Mr Chion Jun: from Amsterdam in Charleston
			D.
Mr Deslandes	30r	1783	Mr Deslandes, de Bruxelles.
Ms Deslandes	31r	1783	Mad ^{lle} Deslandes
Mr Deslandes	32r	1783	Mr Deslandes, jun.
[Mr.] Delius	50r	1783	Mr Delius
[Mr:] Deslandes	39r	1783	Mr Deslandes juven:
Mrs: v Doren	63r	1783	Mad: van Dören de Philadelphie
*Mr Dreyton	66v	1784	Mr. Jacob Dreyton at Charleston
*Mr Davis	72v	1785	MR: W ^{om} n Davis. at Charleston
			E.
Mr Emeroth	68r	1783	Mr Emeroth de Hombourg en Philadelphie
*Mr Edwards	74v	1785	Mr Edwards Major at Charleston
			F.
Mrs Fohrmann	16r	1783	Mad ^{re} . Fohrmann.
Ms Fohrmann	17r	1783	Mad ^{lle} Fohrmann.
[Mr] Fohrmann	19r	1783	Mr. Fohrmann
[Mr] Fohrmann	27r	1783	Mr Ferd: Fohrmann
*[Mr] Fohrmann	28r	1783	Mr Franc: Fohrmann
Mr. Fuhrer	40r	1783	Major Fuhrer fon den amerikans: Trouppen in Phyladelphia.
*Ms Fraser Poly	43v	1784	Ms Fraser from Charleston.

<i>Listing in index, in order in which it appears</i>	<i>page no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>caption under silhouette</i>
*Mr Fraser	51v	1784	Mr Fraser at Charleston
*Mrs [Fraser]	52v	1784	Mrs: Fraser. at Charleston
*Mr [Fraser] Alexand	53v	1784	Mr Alex: Fraser at Charleston.
*Ms [Fraser] Poly	54v	1784	Ms. Poly Fraser at Charleston
*Ms [Fraser] Betsi	55v	1784	Ms Betsi Fraser at Charleston
*Ms [Fraser] Judy	56v	1784	Ms Judy Fraser at Charleston
*Ms [Fraser] Nancy	57v	1784	Ms. Nancy Fraser at Charleston
*Ms [Fraser] Suky	58v	1784	Ms Suky Fraser at Charleston
*Mr [Fraser] James	60v	1784	Mr. James Fraser at Charleston.
			G.
*Mrs Garden	29v	1784	Mrs Garden. from Charleston.
*Mr [Garden]	30v	1784	Mr Garden from Charleston
Mr Götze	45r	1783	Mr Götze Danoi en Philadelphie
Mrs Gross	67r	1783	Mistris Gross de Philadelphie
*Mr: Gaer	74r	1784	Mr. Gaer from Landkaster in Charleston
			H.
*Mr: Hall John	16v	1784	Master John Hall, from Charleston
*Mr. Heubert	17v	1784	Judge Heyward
*Mr. [Heubert] Daniel	21v	1784	Mr. Daniel ["Heubert" crossed out] Heyward from Charleston
Ms. Hess	49r	1783	Mis Petzi Hess de Philadelphie
Ms. Holden	60r	1783	Ms Cath: Hoolden des quackers in Phyladelphie
*Ms Hayn	61v	1784	Ms Hayn at Charleston.
Mrs Hxxx	62r	1783	de Philadelphia
Mr. Herlitz	64r	1783	Mr Herlitz de Neujork.
Mr: Hasenkleber	69r	1783	Mr Hasenkleber de Philadelphie
*Ms: Huger	69v	1784	Ms: Mary Huger at Charleston
Mr Hubley	71r	1783	Mr. Hubley Collonel Americain en Philadelphie
*Mr Hall	7v	1784	Mr George Hall of Charleston
*Ms. [Hall] Betsy	8v	1784	Miss Betsy Hall of Charleston
*Ms. [Hall] Sara	9v	1784	Miss Sarah Hall. of Charleston
*Ms. [Hall] Mariane	10v	1784	Miss Maria Hall of Charleston
Mr. Heidinger	11r	1783	Mr. Heydinger.
*Ms. Hall Louise	11v	1784	Miss Louisa Hall of Charleston
*Ms. [Hall] Juillette	12	1784	Miss Juliett Hall of Charleston.
*Ms. [Hall] Henriette	13	1784	Miss Henrietta Hall of Charleston.
*Ms. [Hall] Caroline	14	1784	Miss Carolina Hall. from Charleston.

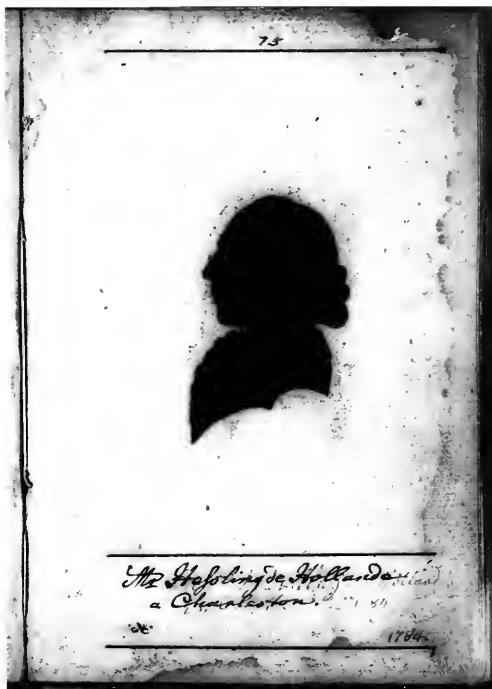
<i>Listing in index, in order in which it appears</i>	<i>page no</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>caption under silhouette</i>
*Mr. George [Hall]	15	1784	Master George Hall of Charleston
*Mr. Hessling	75r	1784	Mr Hessling de Hollande a Charleston.
*Mr Hubert	77r	1784	Mr Hubert from Holland in Charleston
*Mrs Hubert	78r	1784	Mistris Hubert from Kureçao in the West Indies in Charleston
*Mr Harrelbrink	81r	1785	Mr Hrrelbrinck from Prussia at Charleston
*Mr Henning	80r	1784	Mr Henning de Frankfort sur le mayn a Charleston
*Mr. Hutson	44v	1784	Mr Richard Hutson Intendent of Charleston I.
Josephus II	1r	n.d.	Josephus II I. R. The present Emperor
*Mr Inglis	31v	1784	Mr Inglis from Charleston
Ms Joassens	37r	1783	Mad ^{lle} Joassens, d'Anvers
*Mr Irwing	70v	1785	Mr Irwing at Charleston
*Mr Irwing doct.	75v	1785	Mr. Irwing Doct: at Charleston K.
Mrs Kunzmann	23r	1783	Mad ^{me} Kunzmann.
Mr Kohler	47r	1783	Mr Kohler Danois, en Phyladelphie
Mrs Kapli	66r	1783	Mde Kapli de Philadelphie.
*Mrs Krause	78v	1785	Mrs Krause at Charleston
Mr Krause	79v		<i>Folio 79 is missing from the album.</i> L.
*Mr. Lecke	19v	1784	Mr Lecke from Hamburg in Charleston
Mrs Levi	56r	1783	Mistris Levi. Juife en Phyladelphie. M.
Maximilian	2r	1783	Maximilian of Austra
Mrs. Moll	9r	1783	Mad ^{me} de Moll.
Ms. Moll Jeanette	10r	1783	Jeanette de Moll.
[Ms.] Moll Suzette	12r	1783	Suzette de Moll.
[Ms.] Moll Eleonore	13r	1783	Eleonore de Moll.
Mr: Munschi	14r	1783	Mr Munschi. a Vienne. des Etats d'Hyderalq.
*[Mr.] Maerter	29r	1783	Mr Maerter
*Ms. Mukenfus	48v	1784	Ms Muckenfus from Charleston
Mr Matzen	59r	1783	Mr: Matzen. Capitain du Neptun, Danois en Phyladelphie
[Mr.] Meyer	65r	1783	Mr. Meyer de Neujork
*[Mr.] Middleton	65v	1784	Mr Middleton at Charleston +

<i>Listing in index, in order in which it appears</i>	<i>page no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>caption under silhouette</i>
*[Mr.] Motte	67v	1784	Mr Motte. at Charleston
*Mrs. Marschall	68v	1784	Mrs. Marschall at Charleston
Mr: Maetsch	72r	1783	Mr Maetsch de Hamborg en Philadelphie O.
Mr Oesterly	52r	1783	Mister Oesterly Capitain de la Milice en Phyladelphie
Mrs [Oesterly]	53r	1783	Mistris Oesterly P.
*Mr Purcell	22v	1784	Mr Purcell, minister from Charleston
*Mrs [Purcell]	23v	1784	Mrs. Purcell from Charleston
Mr Perfetta	24r	1783	Mr Perfetta.
*Ms: Purcell Nancy	24v	1784	Ms Nancy Purcell from Charleston
*Ms: [Purcell] Jeny	25v	1784	Ms Jeny Purcell. from Charleston.
*Ms: [Purcell] Petsy	26v	1784	Ms Petsi Purcell. from Charleston
*Mr: Purcell Henry	27v	1784	Mr Henry Purcell from Charleston
*Mr Pxxx	32v	1784	Mr P . . . from Copenhagen in Charleston
Ms. Parker	57r	1783	Mis Petzi Parcker en Phyladelphie.
Ms. . . . la Par. . . [illeg.]	76r	1785	<i>Folio 76 is missing from the album.</i> R.
Mr Rugker	15r	1783	Mr Rugker
*Mr Readhead	18v	1783	Mr Readhead from Soud Carolina to Charleston
Mrs Reine	34r	1783	Made Reine. chez Mr. Deslandes
*Ms. v. Rhein	34v	1783	Ms van Rhein from Amsterdam in Charleston
Mr. Reine	35r	1783	Mr Reine
*Ms Rumiz	41v	1784	Mis Rumiz from Charleston
*Mrs: Rumiz	42v	1784	Mrs Rumiz from Charleston
Mr Ruge	46r	1783	Mr Ruge de Hambourg en Phyladelphie
*Mr Rutledges	62v	1784	Mr Fredrik Rutledges at Charleston
*Mr Rutledges Eduard	63v	1784	Mr Edward Rutledges at Charleston
*Mr Rutledges Willam	64v	1784	Mr Willam Rutledges at Charleston S.
Mr Seivert	20r	1783	P. Prosper Seivert
Mr. Schüz	21r	1783	Mr Schütz.
Mrs. Schüz	22r	1783	Mad ^{me} Schütz.
*Ms. Stark	28v	1784	Ms Stark from Charleston
Ms. Schiquier	38r	1783	Mad: Schiquié
*Mr Stuermann	38v	1784	Mr Stuermann from Holland in Charleston

<i>Listing in index, in order in which it appears</i>	<i>page no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>caption under silhouette</i>
Mr Sanders	42r	1783	Mr Sanders de Hambourg a NeuYork en Amerique
Mrs Sanders	43r	1783	Madame Sanders de Phyladelphie
*Mr. Salser	46v	1784	Mr. Salser from frankfort in Charleston
*Ms. Salser	47v	1784	M ^{re} Salser from Charleston
Ms. Schmid	48r	1783	Catherine Schmid, de Phyladelphie
*Mr. Schmid	49v	1784	Mr Schmidt from Stutgard in Charleston
*Mr Seibels	50v	1784	Mr Seibel from Elberfeld in Charleston
Ms. Schall	54r	1783	Miss Schall N. de Bethlehem en Pensilvanie
Mr. Sayer	70r	1783	Mr. Sayer de Hollande en Philadelphie.
Mr. Smyth	76v	1785	<i>Folio 76 is missing from the album.</i>
			T.
*Mr Tunno	81v	1785	Mr. George Tunno at Charleston.
Mrs: Thully	41r	1783	Madame Thully de Phyladelphie.
Mis P. Thully	44r	1783	Mis Moly Tully de Phyladelphie
Mrs. Terons	73r	1783	<i>Folio 73 is missing from the album.</i>
			V.
Mr. Vats	18r	1783	Mr Vats a Vienne d'Engleterre
Ms Vuillam	33r	1783	Mad ^{lle} Vuillam.
			W.
*Mr. Wilson	77v	1785	Mr. D. Wilson at Charleston
			Z.
Mr. Ziegler	26r	1783	Mr Ziegler.



7. Mr. Gaer from Landkaster in Charleston (p. 74r). 1784.



8. Mr. Hessling from Holland in Charleston (p. 75r). 1784.



9. Mr. Hubert from Holland in Charleston (p. 77). 1784. This may be Charles Nicholas Hubert, a native of Amsterdam, who died in 1811 having lived in Charleston for 28 years. Charleston Courier, 3 September 1811.



10. Mistress Hubert from Kureçao in the West Indies in Charleston (p. 78). 1784.



11. Mr. Henning from Frankfurt am Main in Charleston
(p. 80r). 1784.



12. Mr. Harrelbrinck from Prussia at Charleston (p. 81r). 1784.



13. Miss Newmann of Charleston (p. 82r). 1784.



14. Mr. Beach (p. 83). 1784.



15. Mr. George Hall of Charleston (p. 7v). 1784. *George Abbott Hall was a merchant and collector of customs in Charleston. His wife Louisa predeceased him in 1781. This folio, which bears a silhouette only on its verso, was erroneously bound into the book between folios 4 and 5.*



16. Miss Betsy Hall of Charleston (p. 8v). 1784. *Elizabeth Hall married Robert Hazlehurst of Charleston.*



17. Miss Sarah Hall of Charleston (p. 9v). 1784.



18. Miss Maria Hall of Charleston (p. 10v). 1784. Maria Hall married John Stanyarne Brisbane in 1795.



19. Miss Louisa Hall of Charleston (p. 11v). 1784.



20. Miss Juliett Hall of Charleston (p. 12v). 1784.



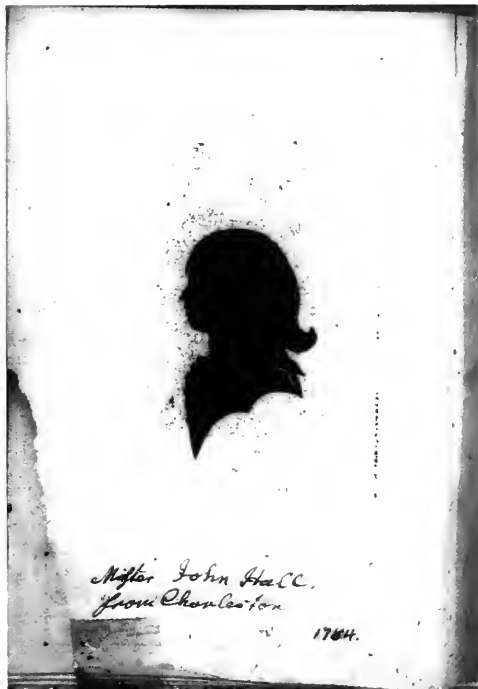
21. Miss Henrietta Hall of Charleston (p. 13v), 1784.



22. Miss Carolina Hall from Charleston (p. 14v), 1784.



23. Master George Hall of Charleston (p. 15v). 1784.



24. Master John Hall from Charleston (p. 16v). 1784.



25. Judge Heyward (p. 1v). 1784. *This probably depict Judge Thomas Heyward, Jr. (1746–1809), who served as judge of the Court of General Sessions and Common Pleas from 1779 to 1789.*



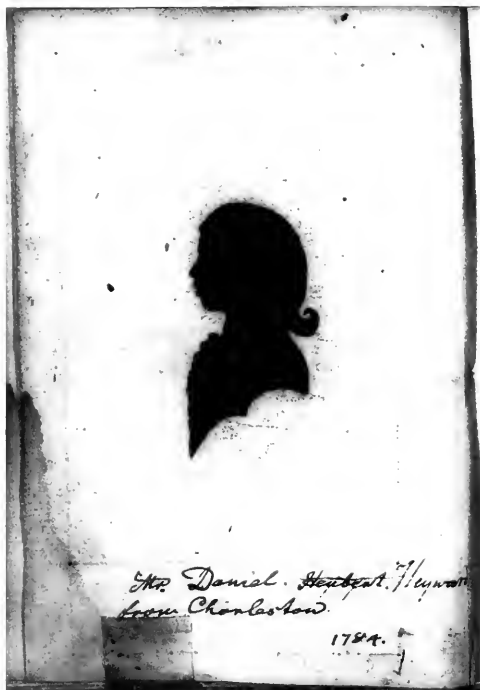
26. Mr. Readhead from South Carolina in Charleston (p. 18v). 1784.



27. Mr. Lecke from Hamburg in Charleston (p. 19v), 1784.



28. Mr. Berkmeier from Hamburg in Charleston (p. 20v), 1784.



29. Mr. Daniel Heyward from Charleston (p. 21v). 1784.
Daniel Heyward (1774–1798) was the only child of Thomas Heyward and his first wife, Elizabeth Matthews.



30. Mr. Purcell, Minister from Charleston (p. 22v). 1784.
Henry Purcell (1739–1802) was the rector of St. Michael's Church in Charleston.



31. Mrs. Purcell from Charleston (p. 23v). 1784. This profile is of Henry Purcell's first wife, whose name is unknown.



32. Ms. Nancy Purcell from Charleston (p. 24v). 1784.



33. Ms. Jeny Purcell from Charleston (p. 25v). 1784.



34. Ms. Petji Purcell from Charleston (p. 26v). 1784.



35. Mr. Henry Purcell from Charleston (p. 27v). 1784.



36. Ms. Stark from Charleston (p. 28v). 1784.



37. Mrs. Garden from Charleston (p. 29v). 1784. Probably Ann Gibbs Garden (176?-?), who married Alexander Garden, Jr., in 1784.



38. Mr. Garden from Charleston (p. 30v). 1784. This may be Alexander Garden (1757-1829), the son of the famous naturalist of the same name.



39. Mr. Inglis from Charleston (p. 31v). 1784.



40. Mr. P . . . from Coppenhagen in Charleston
(p. 32v). 1784.



41. Mr. Behagen from Copenhagen in Charleston (p. 33v).
1784.



42. Ms. van Rhein from Amsterdam in Charleston
(p. 34v). 1784.



43. Ms. van Braun from Amsterdam in Charleston (p. 35v).
1784.



44. Mr. Chion from Amsterdam in Charleston (p. 36v). 1784.
A Phillip William (Guillaume) Chion (c. 1735–1796), formerly
of Amsterdam, was a merchant in Charleston. *Columbian*
Herald, 19 May 1796.



45. Mr. Chion Jun. from Amsterdam in Charleston (p. 37v).
1784. A John Francis Chion (c. 1768–1815), a native of Amsterdam, was described as a grocer in Charleston. Charleston City Gazette, 25 October 1815.



46. Mr. Stuermann from Holland in Charleston (p. 38v).
1784. On 9 February 1785, one Henry Stuermann announced in the South Carolina State Gazette and Daily Advertiser that he was planning to leave Charleston and requested that debts due to him be settled.



47. Mr. Beresford of Charleston (p. 39v). 1784. This may portray Richard Beresford (1755–1803), who practiced law and served for a few months in 1783 as lieutenant governor of South Carolina.



48. Mrs. Beresford of Charleston (p. 40v). 1784. Ann Ferguson, widow of Charles Elliott, was the wife of Richard Beresford.



49. Miss Rumiz from Charleston (p. 41v). 1784.



50. Mrs. Rumiz from Charleston (p. 42v). 1784.



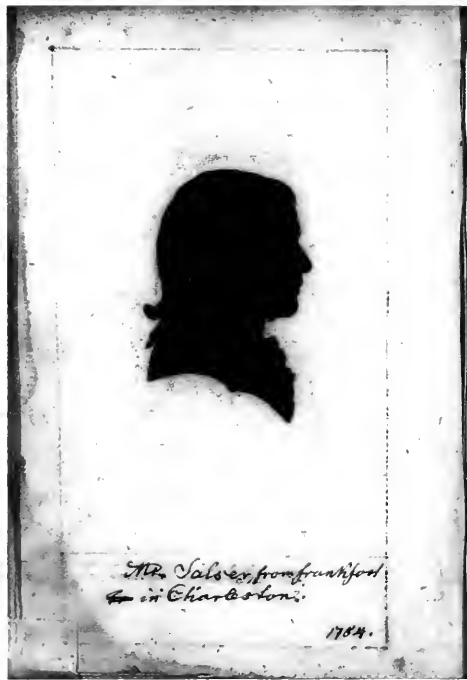
51. Ms. Fraser from Charleston (p. 43v). 1784.



52. Mr Richard Hutson, Intendant of Charleston (p. 44v). 1784. Richard Hutson was a delegate to the Continental Congress and signed the Articles of Confederation. He also served as a judge and as Charleston's first Intendant after South Carolina's incorporation in 1783.



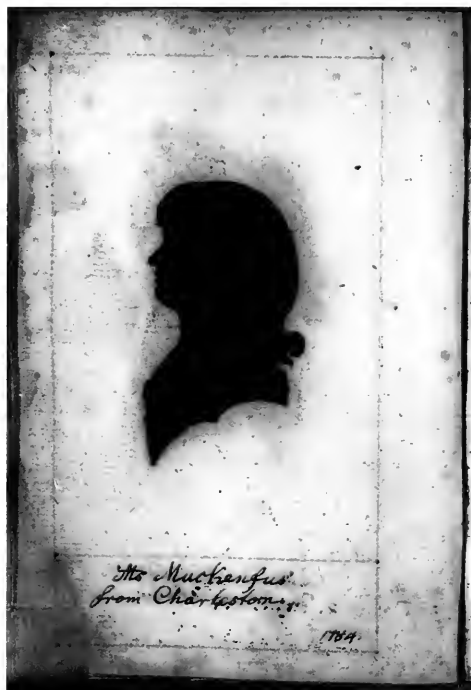
53. Mr. Charles Brown of Charleston (p. 45v). 1784. *Several men of this name lived in Charleston around this time.*



54. Mr. Salser from Frankfort in Charleston (p. 46v). 1784.



55. Mrs. Salser from Charleston (p. 47v). 1784.



56. Ms. Muckenfus from Charleston (p. 48v). 1784.



57. Mr. Schmidt from Stuttgart in Charleston (p. 49v). 1784.



58. Mr. Seibel from Elberfeld in Charleston (p. 50v). 1784.



59. Mr. Fraser at Charleston (p. 51v). 1784.



60. Mrs. Fraser at Charleston (p. 52v). 1784.



61. Mr. Alex: Fraser at Charleston (p. 53v). 1784.



62. Ms. Poly Fraser at Charleston (p. 54v). 1784.



63. Ms. Betsi Fraser at Charleston (p. 55v), 1784.



64. Ms. Judy Fraser at Charleston (p. 56v), 1784.



65. Ms. Nancy Fraser at Charleston (p. 57v). 1784.



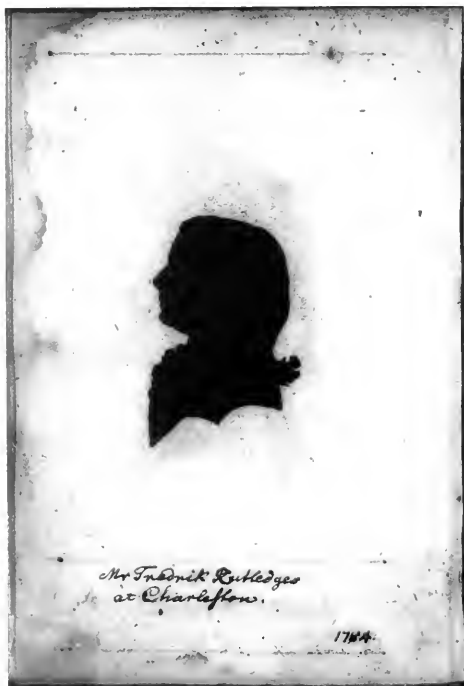
66. Ms. Suky Fraser at Charleston (p. 58v). 1784.



67. Mr. James Fraser at Charleston (p. 60v), 1784.



68. Ms. Hayn at Charleston (p. 61v), 1784. *This may be Alice Hayne, whose portrait Jeremiah Theus (d. 1774) painted.*



69. Mr. Fredrik Rutledges at Charleston (p. 62v). 1784.



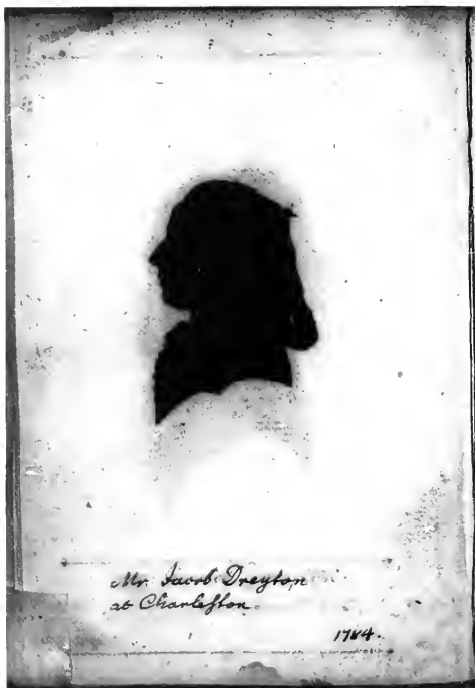
70. Mr. Edward Rutledges at Charleston (p. 63v). 1784.



71. Mr. William Rutledges at Charleston (p. 64v). 1784.



72. Mr. Middleton at Charleston + (p. 65v). 1784. *The cross after the name indicates that the subject was deceased. While Middleton was an extremely common name in Charleston, it is possible that this is Thomas Middleton, husband of Frances Motte, who died in 1784.*



73. Mr. Jacob Dreyton at Charleston (p. 66v). 1784. *Jacob Dreyton (d. 1806) was an attorney and judge in Charleston.*



74. Mr. Motte at Charleston (p. 67v). 1784.



75. Mrs. Marschall at Charleston (p. 68v). 1784.



76. Ms. Mary Huger at Charleston (p. 69v). 1784. A Mary Golightly Huger married Hugh Rutledge in 1788.



77. Mr. Irwing at Charleston (p. 70v). 1784.



78. Mr. Joseph Brown at Charleston (p. 71v). 1785.



79. Mr. William Davis at Charleston (p. 72v). 1784.



80. Mr. Edwards Major at Charleston (p. 74v). 1785.



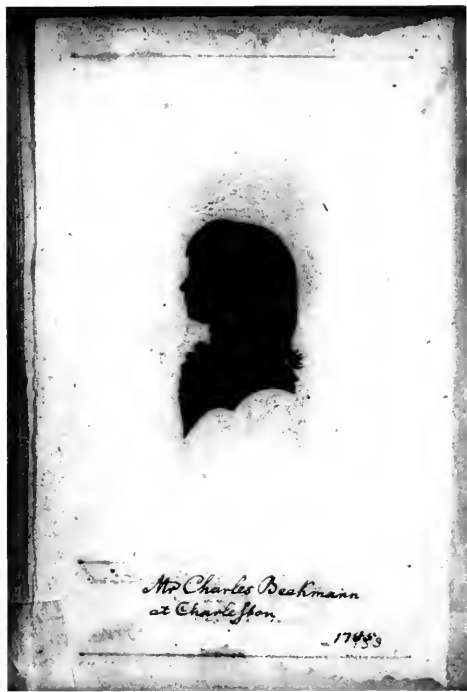
81. Mr. Irwing, Doct. at Charleston (p. 75v). 1784.



82. Mr. Daniel Wilson at Charleston (p. 77v). 1785.



83. Mrs. Krause at Charleston (p. 78v). 1785.



84. Mr. Charles Beckman at Charleston (p. 80v). 1785.



85. Mr. George Tunno at Charleston (*p. 81v*). 1785.



86. H. Somervall (*p. 82v*). 1785.

NOTES

1. *The City Gazette or The Daily Advertiser*, p. 2 col.3.
2. *Inventories of Charleston County, S.C.*, vol. B, 1787-1793, p. 154. February 16, 1789. The inventory notes a variety of weapons and a pocket compass.
3. Charleston County, S.C. *Letters Testamentary*, 1786-1792, p. 134, 23 July 1788.
4. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library, henceforth cited as ÖNB) Cod. Ser. n. 3517, fol. 19. For gracious assistance in obtaining a copy of this letter and of many other relevant documents in the manuscript collection of the Austrian National Library I am very much indebted to the director, Dr. Eva Irblich. Unless noted otherwise, all translations from the German are by the author.
5. The term "silhouette" originated in Europe soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, named after the Finance Minister of Louis XV of France, Etienne de Silhouette, who cut shades as a hobby. In America in the eighteenth century the descriptions "profile," "shades," or "shadows" were used. In his Charleston advertisements, Moll referred to silhouettes as "profiles."
6. Anna Wells Rutledge does not discuss profile cutters in her definitive work, *Artists in the Life of Charleston* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949), although Helen and Nel Laughon, who collect and research silhouettes, know of at least thirty mostly itinerant artists who cut profiles in Charleston in the nineteenth century. They also note the rarity of extant examples in Charleston. Discussions with Lisa Denisevich, Registrar of the Gibbes Museum of Art in Charleston and Martha R. Severens, Curator of the Greenville County Museum of Art and former Registrar of Charleston's Gibbes Museum also failed to reveal silhouettes attributable to Moll among their holdings. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) documentary research has identified at least four artists who cut profiles between 1804 and 1820, but MESDA field research did not uncover any extant silhouettes from Charleston.
7. John Andre examines the family roots in *William Berczy, Co-Founder of Toronto: A Sketch by John Andre*. A Canada Centennial Project of the Borough of York (Toronto: Ortoprint, 1967). Berczy's life was as adventurous as his older brother's. He adopted the common short form of Albrecht (Bertl, Bertti, or Bertsi) as his last name later in life. Andre believes that Albrecht was nicknamed "Bertzie" by the leader of a band of Hungarian bandits who held him for ransom, but since the abbreviation "Bert" (with various endings) is quite common for the names Albrecht and Albert, it is much more likely that he was called "Bertsi" by his family. His Swiss marriage certificate lists his name as "Albert Guillaume Berczy" (p. 49).
8. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
9. John Andre and Hartmut Froeschle, "The American Expedition of Emperor Joseph II and Bernhard Moll's Silhouettes," in *The German Contribution to the Building of the Americas: Studies in Honor of Karl J. R. Arndt* (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1977), 135-72, n. 7. The authors credit Helen McCormack, then Director of the Gibbes Art Gallery in Charleston, with unspecified information "about the former fate of this album."
10. Andre reproduced some of the profiles depicting Moll's family members in his 1967 essay on Berczy.
11. Paramount among the latter is that he provided a list of Moll's silhouettes, but followed neither the album's sequence nor its numbering nor Marter's index. This is misleading because it both hinders the identification of the silhouettes and leads to the false assumption that all the profiles were numbered. Misreadings also occur.
12. For a photocopy of the entry in St. Alban's baptismal register I am indebted to the Katholisches Pfarramt St. Alban in Wallerstein. The document is significant because it specifically notes that his father belonged to the nobility and the Aulic Council at the time.

13. An exhaustive family tree is found in Beate Stock *et al.*, *Berczy* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1991), Appendix A.

14. The Aulic Council was the supreme court established in 1501 by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein'sches Archiv, Harburg, Dienerakten, 13 December 1745.

15. Cf. letter of Count Philipp Carl to Legationsrat Bernhard Paul von Moll (brother of Albrecht Theodor), dated September 9, 1755; Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein'sches Archiv, Ältere Kabinetts-Registratur II.A.10.2. no. 540.

16. One of the Viennese houses in which the Moll family resided was located at Habsburggasse 5 (Braunerstrasse 8). The house was owned by Count Maximilian von Cavriani, Court Councillor of the Exchequer, and was among "the most magnificent residential homes of its time." Five stories high and with a base of 14,000 square feet, it featured the statue of a madonna above a richly stucco-decorated portal. Paul Harrer: *Wien, seine Häuser, Menschen und Kultur* (Vienna: Its Houses, People, and Culture), typescript in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, 1952, vol. 6, part II, p. 329. I am indebted to Univ.-Doz. Dr. Ferdinand Opll, Director of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna, for a copy of this research paper.

17. Fred. Rogl records, among others, the visit of Jean Etienne Guettard of the Académie Royale, Paris, at Moll's Kabinett. Cf. Fred. Rogl, "I. von Fichtel und J.P.C. von Moll und ihre wissenschaftliche Bedeutung" (I. von Fichtel und J.P.C. Moll and Their Scholarly Significance), *Annalen Naturhistorisches Museum Wien* 84/A (1982), 63-67.

18. Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Archives. Entry in the "Matrikelbuch" is dated July 7, 1762. *Berczy* lists an entry for May 15, 1762, in the "Aufnahms-Protocoll für die academischen Schüler vom Jänner 1738 his Juli 1785."

19. Ignaz von Born, *Briefe über Mineralogische Gegenstände . . .* (Frankfurt: Johann Jacob Ferber, 1774), 227.

20. John Andre, *William Berczy*, n. 146. Ignaz von Born also was editor of the Masonic journal, *Physikalische Arbeiten der einträchtigen Freunde in Wien*.

21. The Totenbeschauprotokoll (coroner's record) for 1772 in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv notes that he suffered a stroke and that the family then lived in the "large house on the Kohlmarkt," directly across from the Imperial palace. Copy of the coroner's record courtesy of Dr. Ferdinand Opll.

22. On February 23, 1773, Christian Hieronymus, Maria Susanna, Johann Ludwig and Maria Eleonora were not yet of age. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Vienna, RHR 132/1 Testamente Sperr-u. Verlassenschaften MOL - MOLL (henceforth cited as HHStA). I am very grateful to Dr. Leopold Auer of the Archive for his extensive assistance in finding extant records and references to Bernhard Albrecht Moll. Without his help I would not have been able to assemble the hitherto unknown facts on Bernhard Moll's early life and career.

23. At Johanna Moll's death in 1792, her husband's estate was still owed the substantial sum of 11,361 fl (gulden) and 24 kreutzer. HHStA, RHR 132/2 Testamente Sperr-u. Verlassenschaften MOLL - MOLL 1793-95, fol. 3v, 4r, 19r. Moll will and probate records at the HHStA, RHR 132/2, Testamente Sperr- und Verlassenschaften, dated 31 March 1792.

24. HHStA, Oberhofmeisterrat, Sonderreihe 82, Pensionsbewilligung of October 8, 1777. Maria Theresa also agreed to pay for the tuition of Johann Ludwig Bernhard Moll at the Imperial Military Academy. This youngest Moll son, whom his mother induced to convert to Catholicism, became a surveyor and *mappeur* and also studied art at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna in later life.

25. HHStA, RHR, OR. 699.

26. Chief Chamberlain Count von Rosenberg to Joseph II; HHStA, O.Kä.A. Akten

1777–1780, Number 32/1780. The protracted illness may have been a form of “cavitary” tuberculosis, a scourge at the time both in Europe and in Charleston. I am indebted to Darius G. Ornston, M.D., for information on the medical practices of the time. Cf. also *The Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy*, 9th ed. (Merck, 1956), 1535; and W.A.D. Anderson, M.D., *Synopsis of Pathology*, 3d ed. (St. Louis: C.V. Mosby, 1952), 96–101.

27. HHStA, 6B, O.Ka.A. Akten 1777–1780, No. 32/1780; and O.Ka.A. 134: 1780 bis 1781, II 54: “Expeditionen in Mense Marty 1780, N. 32 der Abfertigung des Moll N. 162.”

28. Decree number 246 dated April 2, 1780, and signed by Chief Chamberlain Count von Rosenberg, HHStA, 6B O.Ka.A. Akten 1777–1780, N 103/780. Moll’s petition to be released from military service because of his appointment is in the Kriegarchiv (War Archives), Vienna, HKR, 1780 D 1065.

29. HHStA, O.Ka.A., Karton 6, No. 99/1780, fol. 59v, 60r; Oberhofmeisteramt Sonderreihe 176, Expedition Marters.

30. Number 35 (August 29, 1780). The two-page advertisement and the full-page engraving are not paginated and appear after page 560 of the paper. The etching measures 7.4 x 5.1 inches. For a copy of Moll’s advertisement and the etching, I am grateful to Dr. Ferdinand Opl.

31. Originally the expedition was to circle the globe and visit the Caribbean, the Americas, the South Seas, India, and the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa. The itinerary of the expedition was subsequently curtailed.

32. Otto Nowotny: “Die Forschungs- und Sammelreise des Nicolaus J. Jacquin in die Karibik und zu den Küsten Venezuelas und Kolumbiens 1755–1759” (Nicholas J. Jacquin’s Research and Collecting Trip in the Caribbean and on the coast of Venezuela and Columbia, 1755–1759), in Elisabeth Zeilinger, ed., *Österreich und die Neue Welt: Symposium in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Austria and the New World: Symposium of the Austrian National Library) *Biblos-Schriften* 160 (Vienna: Austrian National Library, 1993), 89–94. Also: Helga Hühnel, “Botanische Sammelreisen nach Amerika im 18. Jahrhundert” (Botanical Collecting Voyages to America in the Eighteenth Century), in Franz Wawrik et al., eds., *Die Neue Welt: Österreich und die Erforschung Amerikas* (The New World: Austria and the Exploration of America), (Vienna: Austrian National Library, 1992), 61–77.

33. The “k.k. Theresianische und Savojische Ritterakademie,” named after Empress Maria Theresa, was a renowned military academy for noblemen.

34. Italics added. It is not clear when or why he resigned from this position.

35. Original petition by Bernhard Moll addressed to His Majesty, no date, ÖNB, Handschriftensammlung, SR 176, fol. 1–48, 20 r.,v.

36. HHStA, OMeA SR 176, fol. 6 v.

37. Cf. Emperor Joseph II’s lengthy reply in the margin of Vice Chancellor Cobenzl letter of November 22, 1784. HHStA, OMeA SR 176 XXVIII, fol. 37–39, discussed below.

38. The name appears with varying phonetic spellings both in European and American documents (Stubitz, Stupitch, Stupicz, Stupics, etc.). I have adopted the spelling commonly used in Vienna. The names of other expedition members show similar variations.

39. Hühnel, 66; and HHStA, OMeA SR 176 fol. 18.

40. Bredemeyer also was a Freemason. Stupicz notes in his daily journal on 27 December 1783 that Bredemeyer “went to his Freemason function” in Charleston. Stupicz’s journal is in the ÖNB, Handschriftenabteilung, Cod. ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 85.

41. HHStA, OMeA SR 176, fol. 6 v.

42. On June 15, 1784, he wrote from Charleston to Vienna: “The two gardeners are beginning to act more and more according to their initial delusion and as if they had to accomplish a separate and entirely independent task.” ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3517, fol. 37 v.

43. Also spelled Bolts, Boltz.
44. Memo of Ignaz von Born, dated June 23, 1782. HHStA, OMeA SR 176, fol. 7 r, v.
45. Born to Cobenzl, June 29, 1782. HHStA, OMeA SR 176, fol. 6 r, v.; 9 r, v.; Cobenzl to Emperor Joseph II, August 3, 1782, HHStA, OMeA SR 176 XXVIII, to r, v.; Born to Cobenzl, August 5, 1782, HHStA, OMeA SR 176, fol. 22 v.
46. HHStA, OMeA SR 176, fol. 30 r.; also Kabinettsprotokolle der Kabinetsskanzlei, vol. 21 (1782), p. 984, N. 141.
47. After Mrs. Moll's death in 1792 the document became significant because Bernhard's last letter to his family was from Charleston, dated in the month of December, 1786. ÖNB, RHR 132/2.
48. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 76–81 v.
49. The first known map of inland Carolina was produced by Johann Lederer during the last of his three expeditions along the Appalachians in 1669–1670. The geographer and cartographer Herman Moll subsequently published maps of the American Southeast before his death in 1732. A number of maps of the Carolinas were published in the 1780s. See P. Lee Phillips, *A List of Maps of America in the Library of Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 820–21.
50. Perhaps after General George Monk (or Monck), Duke of Albemarle (1608–1670), or General Robert Monckton (1726–1782).
51. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 1. According to John Andre (1977), the captain may have been the American naval officer Joshua Barney (1759–1818).
52. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 6 v.
53. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 7 r.
54. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3517, fol. 19 r, v. For gracious assistance in obtaining a copy of this letter and of many other relevant documents in the manuscript collection of the Austrian National Library, I am very much indebted to the director, Dr. Eva Irlich.
55. HHStA, OMeA SR 176 XXVIII, fol. 37–40, r, v. Subjects of the crown needed permission to emigrate.
56. Helga Hühnel, "Kaiserliche 'Gärtnergesellen' bereisen Amerika" (Imperial "Gardener-Journeymen" Visit America), in *Österreich und die Neue Welt. Symposium in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Elisabeth Zeilinger, ed. (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1993), 95 and n.1.
57. On board ship Marter, Stupicz, and Moll dined at the captain's table. While the gardeners ate meager fare with the crew and "nearly starved to death" (ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3517, fol. 14 and in Moll's letter to Born, fol. 19 r), Marter complained that they "almost never were served anything other than meat" (ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 7 r.). Once in South Carolina, Stupicz notes on January 3, 1784 in his daily journal: "The gardeners, especially the larger one, complained about the salary inequity and we quarreled. Since he wouldn't stop talking I gave in to his pride and said nothing. I cooked the last of our provisions." ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 85 v.
58. Andre and Froeschle, 143.
59. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 82.
60. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 82 v. Stupicz was apparently required to maintain a daily journal while away from Marter, because his record begins with a note that he and Boos took leave from Marter, and it ends with Marter's arrival in Charleston on January 16, 1784.
61. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 83 r. See also Henry A. M. Smith, "The Town of Dorchester, in South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* VI, 1 (1905), 62–95; "On December 1, 1781, Col. Wade Hampton advanced against Dorchester. The

British garrison of 400 infantry and 150 cavalry did not await his attack, but during the night destroyed everything, threw their cannon into the river and retreated to Charles Town, and Dorchester passed finally under the control of the American forces" (84–85). Apparently the town had not been rebuilt two years later.

62. The term is applicable to any member of the reptilian order *Crocodylia*. Based on characteristics of the head and skull, the American crocodile native to the southern United States is now called by the term "alligator."

63. January 6, 1784; ÖNB, Cod. ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 85 v.

64. ÖNB, Cod. ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 84 v.

65. They visited him on December 20, 21, 22, twice on Dec. 23, and on Dec. 31. ÖNB, Cod. ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 84–85 r.

66. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 3, fol. 86 v.

67. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3517, fol. 37 r.

68. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3517, fol. 38 r.

69. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3517, fol. 51 r.

70. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3517, fol. 78 r. Marter had also ordered Stupicz to return with the first transport, but apparently he also defied the order because Bredemeyer arrived alone in Vienna with a shipment of the collected plants, animals, and seeds.

71. Stupicz also remained in Charleston. Born in Transylvania, an area that once belonged to Hungary and is now part of Romania, he became a member of the Roman Catholic church in Charleston, died on August 20, 1794, and was buried in St. Mary's Cemetery. Extant records show that he practiced medicine in Charleston successfully and had filed several lawsuits to recover payment for his services and medicines. One of his patients in arrears with payments was the aged Lutheran pastor Christian Theus. Johann Jacob Kalkkoffen, a friend of Stupicz and administrator of his estate after his death, collected outstanding debts and paid for a memorial in St. Mary's Cemetery. This tombstone is now one of the oldest in that burial ground. For information on the burial site and permission to photograph the tombstone I am grateful to the Rev. Msgr. John A. Simonin.

72. HHStA, OMeA, SR 176, fol. 40 v.

73. HHStA, OMeA SR 176 XXVIII, fol. 37–39, r., v.

74. The Emperor's dictated, personally signed reply is in the left margin of Document no. OMeA SR 176 XXVIII, beginning on fol. 39 r.

75. Coblenz was responding to the complaint that Moll "had done very little painting for Marter and had occupied himself mostly with other work for his private gain," which was noted in the left margin of fol. 31 r. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 1.

76. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 1, fol. 30 v–31 r.

77. *South-Carolina State Gazette and General Advertiser*, Charleston, 23 November 1784, 1–3.

78. *South-Carolina State Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, Charleston, 25 February 1785, 2–1.

79. Helene M. Kastinger Riley, "German Romanticism in Old Charles Towne? Rediscovering William Henry Timrod, Bookbinder-Poet," *South Atlantic Review* 59, 1 (January 1994), 67–85; and Johannes Strohschänk: *Deutsches Drama am Charleston Theatre 1795–1861*. M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1977, 24.

80. Hermannus Moll died in 1732. His map of the British Empire in America dates to 1708, his map of Carolina was made in 1721. The fact that he produced a map showing the settled areas around Charleston in 1711, and a plan of Port Royal harbor in Carolina in the year of his death, leads one to suspect that he resided in or around Charleston at the time.

81. *Columbian Herald*, Charleston County, S.C., (no issue date, previous issue is 7 September 1785, following issue is 12 September 1785), 3–4

82. *The City Gazette and The Daily Advertiser*, Charleston, 19 November 1787, 3-2.
83. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, *Citizenship Book, 1784-1830*. Misc. Records vol. Q 1788-1839, p. 11. The term "subject of the Emperor of Germany" is ambiguous. Moll and his father were born in Germany, but Bernhard was raised in Austria from infancy and Joseph II of the Austro-Hungarian Empire certainly considered him an Austrian subject. Still, the Molls were diplomats to the Aulic Council in Vienna and Bernhard Moll could easily have argued that he was a German, not an Austrian citizen.
84. It reads: "I give & bequeath the whole of my Estate real & personal which I possess in the State of South Carolina to Edward Lightwood, In Trust for the Wench now living with me known by the Name of Hagar, appointing him the said Edward Lightwood my sole Executor, who is hereby directed to sell or dispose of the same or in any other wise to act in the Premises as he may think most advantageous. Witness my Hand and Seal this twenty fifth day of June one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight." The will is signed and witnessed by Samuel Baker and Robert Seabrook. South Carolina Department of Archives, Charleston Will Transcripts, vol. 22, p. 302. Recorded in original Will Book "B" 1786-1793, p. 208.
85. *The City Gazette or The Daily Advertiser*, Charleston, 9 September 1788, 3-2.
86. *The City Gazette or The Daily Advertiser*, Charleston, 12 November 1788, 2-3.
87. Charleston County, S.C., *Inventories*, Vol. B, 1787-1793, p. 154, 16 February 1789; and *State Gazette of S.C.*, Charleston, S.C., 23 February 1789, 1-4.
88. Probate record for Johanna Moll, HHSa, RHR 132/2 Testamente Sperr-u. Verlassenschaftlichen MOLL, dated March 31, 1792.
89. For the description of the originals in the bound volume and for study prints from a microfilm I am indebted to Mary Allodi, curator of the Canadiana Department, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ont.
90. See Margaret Simons Middleton: *Jeremiah Thews: Colonial Artist of Charles Town*, rev. ed. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991).
91. Dorothy Smith Berkeley and Edmund Berkeley, *Dr. Alexander Garden of Charles Town* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 312-13.
92. Caroline T. Moore, comp. and ed.: *Abstracts of Wills of Charleston District, S.C. 1783-1800* (Columbia, S.C.: R. L. Bryan, 1974), 247-48.
93. N. Louise Bailey and Elizabeth Ivey Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. 3, 1775-1790 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981), 297.
94. During the Revolutionary War, Purcell had been chaplain to the second South Carolina Regiment commanded by Moultrie, and began to officiate at St. Michael's upon the evacuation by the British, December 14, 1782. Although he received a salary, he was not officially elected Rector until April 2, 1784. The Rev. Henry Purcell died March 24, 1802. *Year Book of the City of Charleston 1886*, p. 300.
95. *Charleston Times*, 12 December, 1804 (italics added). According to his advertisement in the *Gazette*, he was a portrait painter from Boston who had arrived in Charleston in November 1800. *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 2 December 1800.
96. *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 7 February 1807.
97. *Charleston Times*, 22 December 1810.
98. *Charleston Courier*, 16 January 1810.
99. For the discussion of how the silhouettes reflect fashions of this period, I am indebted to Colleen Callahan, curator of costumes and textiles at the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.
100. ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3517, fol. 38 r.; and ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3794, part 1.
101. ÖNB, OMeA SR 176 XXVIII, Report to His Majesty, fol. 37-39, right margin.

Research Notes

New Discoveries in a Piedmont North Carolina Chest-on-Frame Group

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

In his article "American Vernacular Furniture and the North Carolina Backcountry," which appeared in the November 1994 issue of the *Journal*, Michael H. Lewis studied a group of chests-on-frame produced in the piedmont North Carolina counties of Rowan and Randolph. Lewis presented the group as evolving from an unknown shop in Rowan County c. 1795; a later subgroup that emerged in Randolph County was probably produced until the Civil War.

Soon after the publication of Lewis's article, several pieces of furniture relating to this group have come to light. Two identical chests-on-frame have been discovered, with separate family histories, that represent a high-style variation of the Rowan group. One chest descended in the Jonathan and Elias Barber family, which settled in Rowan County in 1794 (fig. 1). The other, identical to the Barber chest, is still in Rowan County and has a history of descent in the Alexander Long/Andrew Murphy family through an 1850s marriage. In many respects these chests conform to Lewis's type II; each has an arched skirt with central pendant, as well as a bonnet drawer. The way that the drawer supports are mortised through the back is identical to the Rowan group. The striking variations these examples exhibit include the tapered reeded feet and the walnut veneer on the drawer fronts and the front skirt. A number of internal construction



1. Chest-on-frame, Rowan County type II, piedmont North Carolina, c. 1815. Walnut and walnut veneer drawer fronts; tulip poplar and yellow pine secondary. HOA 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", WOA 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", DOA 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". MRF S-20887. Courtesy of Estate Antiques, Charleston, South Carolina.

details also differ. Tulip poplar drawer linings and yellow pine drawer supports are a variation on the exclusive use of yellow pine in the other known examples from Rowan and Randolph counties. The four horizontal back boards are paneled into the top and sides and have the bottom board pegged into the case base; a centrally placed wrought nail secures the pegging. The drawer fronts have less than full applied cockbeading, the beveled bottoms are held by front and side grooves and are not pinned to the back, and the sides extend slightly past the back, apparently to adjust the stopping depth. To further ensure the fit, a small vertical block was applied to each drawer back corner. There are no dustboards. The case has a cove molding at the top, and the base frame has a small ogee molding.

While neither of these two chests is dated, the accurate rendering of the reeded feet certainly suggests a date in the 1810s, even allowing for the retention of styles in the Backcountry. The importance of these two chests-on-frame lies in how their attentiveness to design reflects a style more in tune with the period than most of the Rowan chests. Although their maker is unidentified, he obviously was associated with the Rowan shop and had a client or clients who demanded the newest style in reeded feet. Though avant-garde for Rowan County, this new design suits the traditional chest-on-frame style.

The other example of the group Lewis discusses is a painted blanket chest-on-frame of the Randolph type II (fig. 2). While all other known examples of the chest-on-frame form exhibit walnut as the primary wood, this chest has yellow pine and tulip poplar as the case woods and walnut, tulip poplar, and yellow pine as the frame woods. Its construction features are consistent with the Randolph type II: molding at the front and ends of the lid, with cut nails; half dovetails visible on the ends at front and on the back at the ends; case and frame possibly separable originally, but now pinned with cut nails through the case bottom into a board that is mortice-lapped front to rear into the top of the frame rabbet. No lock had ever been



2. Chest-on-frame, Randolph County type II, North Carolina, 1810–1830. Chest: yellow pine and tulip poplar, painted with a red wash with pattern-assisted designs of black half-circles with additional inner dark red half circles on sides at front and base, and white diamonds on front board at top and sides. Frame: skirt front of tulip poplar with a red wash; the walnut ends and walnut feet are natural, and the back is yellow pine. HOA 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ "(?), WOA 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ "', DOA 18". MRF S-20926. Private collection.

installed. When discovered, two inches of the feet had been lost. Its restoration was accurate and based upon known examples of Randolph county type II.

This blanket chest has a history of being collected in the Lenoir area of North Carolina north of Randolph County. This example is clearly a variation of the Randolph type II; its painted decoration probably represents client taste.

These examples that vary from the norm provide information that at first may seem to confuse the picture, but ultimately can illustrate connections and help clarify the origins of this chest-on-frame group from Rowan and Randolph counties. Their discovery clearly demonstrates the on-going nature of research and the value of communication as we continue to refine our understanding of artisan practices in the past.

Book Reviews

Adapting to a New World *English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake*

JAMES HORN

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1994. Pp. xviii & 462, 14 maps and graphs, 9 halftones. Cloth, \$55.00. ISBN 0-8078-2137-3.

In *Adapting to a New World*, James Horn writes about similarities and connections, the “major continuities between life in the Old World and the New.” While he does not minimize the effect of either the new American environment or the disparities in material conditions, he focuses on the first phase of the familiar Anglicization model and argues that “the fabric of English society and culture was maintained by the transfer of English values, norms, and attitudes” (p. 427).

Horn nuances his argument. Colonists did not expect the Chesapeake to be a mirror image of England (p. 426), and no specific local English culture was reproduced. There are brief but suggestive allusions to features of the English experience that were missing from the Chesapeake, such as the bustle of towns, the compactness of villages, the presence of antiquity in buildings and monuments, and the existence of certain social groups. Although Horn carefully states that he has limited his work to the transfer of culture from England to the Chesapeake, his lack of attention to Native Americans and

African slaves gives readers only a partial view of the population of Virginia and Maryland.

The pictures of England Horn uses are drawn from case studies of the Vale of Berkeley and central Kent. He identifies the emigrants, describes the communities they left, and indicates the local factors, especially poverty, that pushed them across the Atlantic. In the Chesapeake he offers enough demographic statistics and facts about tobacco growing and crop diversification to support his contention that immigrants saw the region "in terms of the commodities it would in time yield" (p. 127). Concentrating his attention on the English settlers in Lower Norfolk and Lancaster County in Virginia and in St. Mary's County, Maryland, he stresses the importance of kinship and friendship in the networks of daily living, agricultural work, and the establishment of local and provincial offices.

Following this general background come five thematic chapters in which he discusses attitudes toward family, sex, marriage, and community; the world of work; the social order, crime, and rebellion; the spiritual world of organized religion and popular belief; and the topic that may be of greatest interest to readers of the *Journal*, "The House and Home: The Domestic Environment." Horn helpfully positions his work among that of other scholars; but regrettably, the few unimaginative illustrations reveal the author's lack of interest in visual or material sources. In the chapters on work and material culture, he treats differences between conditions in England and the Chesapeake as more important than similarities (pp. 291-92). Through indentured servitude and slavery, labor in the Chesapeake became commodified in ways that were unacceptable in England (p. 268). Servants were regarded as a species of property, their routines of work defined by and compensated for according to the "Custom of the Country" (p. 269).

Horn is in agreement with other scholars in his statement that "throughout the region, domestic conditions were uniformly basic. The simplicity and crudeness of agrarian society and the absence of

ways of life taken for granted in England must have been apparent to all new arrivals" (p. 434). He offers worthwhile comparisons between the impermanent buildings of the Chesapeake and squatters' cottages in marginal lands in England. However, writing about the way planters moved dwellings and tobacco houses from place to place as the soil wore out, Horn seems not to understand the impermanence argument that deferring housing improvements was an investment strategy and possibly a response to the brevity of most people's lives. Although he mentions Green Spring and Bacon's Castle as exceptions (p. 306), he explicitly states that there was no use of metropolitan building styles in the Chesapeake. In fact, new archaeology and reassessment of old sites are turning up additional evidence for more sophisticated houses, such as Arlington on the lower Eastern Shore and several houses on Jamestown Island.

Horn's evidence for furnishings comes exclusively from inventories. While he summarizes previous work adequately and raises some worthwhile questions, conceptually he does not advance our understanding of the subject of living conditions and practices. For all their problems, probate inventories clearly tell that furnishings were meager, and adjectives indicate their poor quality either of manufacture or condition. Does the scarcity of skilled labor and surplus income contribute to this picture? Would the many ships known to have brought furnishings to lower Norfolk have carried enough domestic goods to provide a high number of families with a better standard of living? These questions beg investigation.

Years ago others, including this reviewer, wrote about the seeming sameness of the furniture in all Chesapeake houses, which we attributed to the homogeneity of society. Being rich meant having more, not being different. Horn usefully asks whether having more could mean being different (pp. 325–27). Now that material culture scholars have expanded their attention from numbers and patterns of distribution of objects to issues of use and behavior, I would like to know more about these differences. Although Horn tinkers with a

few suggestions about styles of living and assemblages of objects, the topic needs more work.

Readers who wish to take sides in the debate over the relative influence of the culture of Old England and the environment of the New World in shaping the experiences of colonists in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake will focus on James Horn's nuanced effort to favor English heritage. Those who think the question impossible to answer are still likely to appreciate the range and thoroughness of his descriptions of English people and their lives and institutions on both sides of the Atlantic. Finally, although the book is fat and heavy and the type small, the choice of paper, the overall design, and the decision to position notes at the bottom of each page make reading pleasant.

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Pioneers in Historical Archaeology
Breaking New Ground

STANLEY SOUTH, ED.

New York and London: Plenum Press, 1994. Pp. xiv & 233. 22 black-and-white photographs. Cloth. \$45.00. ISBN 0-306-44821-1.

In this volume Stanley South has collected accounts of the origins of historical archaeology, told by those who were instrumental in that field's inception. As a distinct subdiscipline, historical archaeology was established at the first meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 1967 (I was at that meeting, and remember it well). Its roots, however, go back to the 1930s and before, when a few individuals began to take a serious approach to "tin-can archaeology"

and started to explore the potential of applying traditional archaeological methods to post-Columbian sites. As we have seen, their work was wildly successful, and today the Society for Historical Archaeology is one of the three largest archaeological groups in the country.

In thirteen chapters, thirteen pioneers of the field tell the story of their involvement. They are all here: J. C. "Pinky" Harrington, John Cotter, Charles Fairbanks, and ten other well-known archaeologists who discuss how and why they were led to this then-new area of study. Considering the book as archaeology of archaeology, a post-processualist will find comfort in the powerful effect of personalities and quirks of fate that led each early practitioner to particular sites, problems, and methods. Each chapter is a delight to read; the editor is to be congratulated on soliciting such personal, even intimate accounts and tying them together into a coherent account of the discipline's history.

The first chapter is by Harrington, who discusses his beginnings at Jamestown in the 1930s. At that time, and sometimes still, historical archaeology was trying to define its own purpose. Was it to guide reconstruction and interpretation of historic sites, or was it to be a source of information on anthropological problems, a source independent of the written record? Harrington, like most of the contributors, tells his story in a self-deprecating, self-critical style that is seldom seen in young scholars.

In chapter 2, John Cotter provides a straightforward chronological account of historical archaeology's development, giving a surprisingly early (1796) example of a problem-oriented excavation of an historic site. This is followed by a summary of the principal accomplishments, along with seminal sites and persons, through the early part of this century to the establishment of the Society in the 1960s.

The third chapter, one of my favorites, is by J. O. Brew. Jo Brew was one of the best writers in archaeology, and his account of excavations and analysis at Awatovi is a fascinating story, filled with per-

sonalities and incidents. His work reveals how much history can benefit from being fleshed out by archaeology and an anthropological understanding, in this case involving Hopi ethnography.

Two chapters, one by Kenneth Kidd and the other by Roderick Sprague, provide discussion of glass beads and their interpretation. Beads are to historic aboriginal sites what ceramics are to Euro-American sites, i.e., commonly found and vital for chronology. Kidd and Sprague, working largely independently, were among the first to establish a bead typology. Carlyle Smith writes of his work on gun parts which, like beads, are a proven tool for establishing a site's age and trade affiliations. Ed Jelks too demonstrates how little was known even forty years ago regarding certain classes of historic artifacts, including ceramics. Jelks discusses the painstaking work of all of these pioneers in establishing the basic knowledge of such commonplace but significant detritus. Hale Smith's chapter is still another example, and he refers to an understanding of historic artifacts as a "venture into the unknown."

Contributions by John Griffin, Charles Fairbanks, George Quimby, and Robert "Stu" Neitzel reveal another theme of the early years, the preoccupation with connecting historic Native American sites with recorded ethnic groups. This is part of a more general pattern, a tendency to ask (and sometimes answer) highly particularistic questions that are more historical than anthropological. In reading their chapters, one is reminded that Harrington's question "What is historical archaeology?" has remained a concern for all these scholars.

The editor Stanley South has written about what he has learned from and experienced with his archaeological crews. All archaeologists have these stories, but they are seldom reported. South sees these shared experiences as worthy not only of telling, but as a source of anthropological information; an example is the folk songs of his workers in South Carolina.

Again and again, these pioneers mention early childhood experi-

ences that inclined them to study archaeology. Some of those events can only be seen as historical accidents; considering the strong, even vivid imprint these personalities have made on historical archaeology, one wonders how different the field would be if others had been in their stead. Whether one sees historical archaeology as too historical, too anthropological, or just right (and it can be all of these at times), this highly readable account of its genesis is well worth opening.

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